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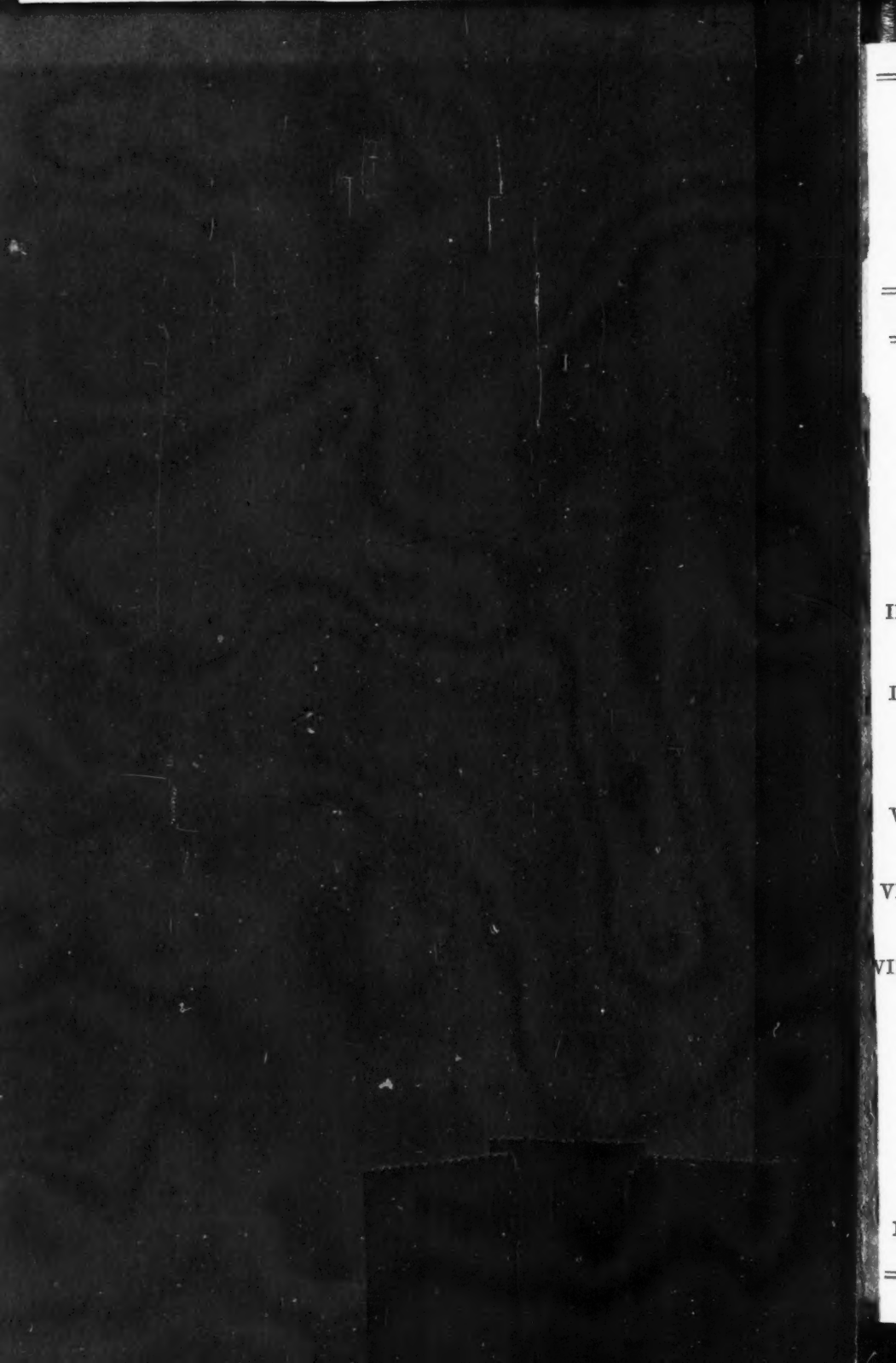
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# THE DUBLIN REVIEW

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## JANUARY

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JANUARY 1899.

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ART. I.—HARNACK'S CHRONOLOGY OF  
EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

*Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.*  
VON ADOLF HARNACK. Erster Band. *Die Chronologie*  
*der Litteratur bis Irenaeus.* Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1897.  
Pp. xvi., 732.

PROFESSOR HARNACK'S great "History of Early Christian Literature up to Eusebius" is so planned as to fall into three Parts:—

Part I., a volume of a thousand pages, published some six years ago, deals with what may be called, for want of a better word to render "Ueberlieferung," the material side of the subject—the actual extant MSS. of the different works, the fragments and citations preserved in later writers and collections, the versions and chief printed editions: of this part I have already spoken in the DUBLIN REVIEW of January, 1896.

Part II. is devoted to chronology and attempts to determine the date and authorship of each document.

Part III. will discuss the internal character and the historical and doctrinal developments of the ante-Nicene literature.

Part II. is to be in two volumes, the first of which is now before us. This substantial investigation into the Chronology of Christian Literature up to Irenaeus is in many ways a remarkable book, and not the least remarkable part of it is  
[No. 29 of Fourth Series.]

the short preface of seven pages. As the author himself very clearly sets forth therein the scope and method of his book, and describes the position to which, after twenty-five years of assiduous study, he has been led, and in words that can hardly be called anything else than a pronouncement, I cannot do better than begin by translating some portions of the "Vorrede."

Dr. Harnack there explains that in the present work he enters only on such discussions and investigations as bear directly on the determining of the dates of the various Christian documents; that he assumes as his starting point the solidly established results of the labours of past years, without feeling called upon to discuss or even to mention all the floating theories and hypotheses that have been put forward and have been discarded; and that it no longer seems necessary to make an elaborate criticism of the theories of the Tübingen school: he continues:

There was a time—and that time has not yet passed for the general public [*i.e.*, non-Catholics on the continent]—when people thought themselves compelled to regard the oldest Christian literature, including the New Testament, as a tissue of frauds and forgeries. That time is past. For scientific erudition it was an episode by which much has been learned, but of which, now that it is past, much must be forgotten. The tendency of the following investigations goes in a reactionary direction, even beyond what might be called the middle position of contemporary criticism. The oldest literature of the Church is, in the main lines and in most details, when considered from the literary-historical standpoint, true and authentic. . . . I am not ashamed to use the word "reactionary," for we should call things by their right names, and we are, as regards the criticism of the sources of primitive Christianity, undoubtedly in a return movement towards tradition. . . . The chronological framework in which tradition has co-ordinated the documents is correct in all main points from the Pauline Epistles to Irenaeus, and compels the historian to reject all hypotheses as to the historical course of events which contradict this framework.

After these words most English readers will probably be surprised on turning to the body of the book, to find that Dr. Harnack denies the genuineness of the Catholic Epistles, one and all, and of St. John's Gospel, and believes that only a kernel of the Pastoral Epistles is really by St. Paul. But the standard of comparison should be the German writers of the Tübingen school of thirty years ago, whose English repre-

sentative was the author of "Supernatural Religion," with his Gospels forged at the middle of the second century, his "pseudo-Ignatius" and his ubiquitous scepticism.

The New Testament writings occupy a comparatively small portion of Dr. Harnack's book, and the investigations in regard to them are not, in proportion, so elaborate as in the case of the non-canonical writings. The difference of treatment is accounted for in the preface: this branch of the work has been satisfactorily done by others, above all by Dr. Jülicher of Marburg, in his *Introduction to the New Testament*\*; Harnack therefore adopts without further discussion those of Jülicher's conclusions with which he himself agrees. But in interest and importance the questions of date and origin of the New Testament writings stand quite apart; therefore I propose to consider in the first place some of the positions taken up by Harnack and Jülicher on New Testament problems.

The chief of these discussions is that as to the authorship of the writings that bear the name of St. John—the Gospel, the three Epistles, and the Apocalypse. The only useful way of entering on such a discussion is, so far as is possible, to look at things from the same standpoint as those with whom the discussion is to be conducted; and, in the present case, to relinquish all theological positions, to descend into the arena, and deal with the inspired writings merely as "documents." Protestations of absolute impartiality are idle, because such a frame of mind would be unhuman. We all of us, even the most scientific critics, have beliefs or prepossessions which unconsciously colour our vision and warp our estimate of the force of evidence: it is not only believers in revelation that are subject to this infirmity of human nature—far from it. But we can all do our best to look facts straight in the face, and try to make out what conclusions they point to. And so I shall endeavour to enter on this question in the same frame of mind as if it were the Athanasian authorship of the "Life of St. Antony." It is hardly necessary to remark that there is here neither time nor place for an adequate discussion of the various issues; I only wish to offer a few thoughts that present themselves to my mind.

---

\* "Einleitung in das N.T." Von Adolf Jülicher. (Freiburg i. B.: Mohr. 1894. Pp. xiv. 404.)

I begin by setting forth, without comment, Harnack's position in regard to the five Johannine writings:—

1. He holds it for certain that all three Epistles are by the same author as the Gospel.\*

2. In regard to the Apocalypse, Harnack holds the theory that it was based upon a Jewish Apocalypse, re-written and added to by a Christian writer between the years 93–96. Subject to this proviso, he holds what he terms “the critical heresy” that the writer who thus Christianised the (supposed) Jewish document was none other than the author of the Fourth Gospel, for in his portions of the work “I see the same spirit and the same hand that have given us the Gospel.”†

3. Papias (born not later than c. A.D. 80, *cf.* p. 358, and writing c. 150, *cf.* p. 357) says that besides the Apostle John there was another “Disciple of the Lord,” named John, whom Papias distinguishes by the name of “The Elder”—ὁ πρεσβύτερος—and whom (probably) he had himself known.‡ It is, I think, commonly accepted now that this Presbyter John was distinct from the Apostle St. John, and indeed it seems impossible to understand Papias' language in any other sense.§

4. Harnack's theory is that this second John was the author of the five Johannine writings, and the John whom Polycarp had known.

Before examining the grounds on which this view rests, let us consider its bearing on the character of the documents. While fixing the date of the Apocalypse at 93–96, Harnack holds that the Gospel and three Epistles were written not earlier than 80, not later than 110; and they would still be the work of a personal “Disciple of the Lord.”|| Furthermore, he thinks there

\* P. 658, note 2.

† P. 675, note 1.

‡ Euseb. “Hist. Eccl.,” iii. 39.

§ *Cf.* Lightfoot, “Essays on Supernatural Religion,” pp. 143–4.

|| Harnack seeks to minimise the amount of personal contact with Christ implied by the title “Disciple of the Lord” (p. 660); and I daresay that in the abstract discussion he is right, and that it need not mean very much—he might have referred to Acts ix. 1, where it is manifestly used of the whole Christian community, and not of those only who had seen and conversed with our Lord. One thing, however, is certain—viz., that if Harnack's own theory is true, and if John the Presbyter was the John spoken of by Polycarp, then his discipleship was very real indeed, and his relations with Christ were very personal. This is what Irenaeus says: “Polycarp would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and would relate their words; and whatsoever things he had heard from them about the Lord, about His miracles, and about His teaching, Polycarp, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, would relate altogether in

can be no doubt that the author of the Gospel had close ties with the Beloved Disciple, and that it cannot be questioned that St. John the Apostle "stands behind" the Fourth Gospel: thus the title which would fully bring out its character is "the Gospel of John the Presbyter according to John the son of Zebedee" (p. 677). It is needless to point out that such a position is very different from that of the old opponents of St. John's authorship, who utterly severed it from him and from the personal Disciples of our Lord, by making it a forgery of the latter half of the second century. It is very different, too, from the position even of Jülicher, who characterises the Gospel as "a philosophical poem with a religious object (Tendenz) from the third Christian generation," and as being "almost worthless for the history of Christ in the flesh."\* In itself Harnack's position does not appear so very revolutionary from the apologetic or even the dogmatic standpoint.

To a brief examination of the case, as presented by Harnack, let us now proceed. I shall reverse his order by taking the internal evidence before the external. He deals only with the direct indications as to the authorship afforded by the five documents, general considerations being reserved, apparently, for Part III. of his work.

#### 1. *The Gospel.*

(a) The main argument turns on vv. 20-23 of c. xxi., and it will be necessary to have the passage before us. I cite it, using the Revised Version, the most suitable for purposes of this kind:

20. Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following: which also leaned back on his breast at the supper, and said, Lord, who is he that betrayeth Thee? 21. Peter therefore seeing him, saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do? 22. Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou Me. 23. This saying therefore went forth among the brethren that that disciple should not die: Yet Jesus said not unto him that he should not die; but, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?

Harnack says that the last verse must have been written after St. John's death, for the purpose of showing that Christ

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accordance with the Scriptures" (cf. Lightfoot, "Essays on Supernatural Religion," p. 97).

\* "Einleitung," 258.

had not uttered a false prophecy, by stating exactly what He had said. Now vv. 20-23 are closely knit to the rest of the chapter; and the chapter itself, though it has the appearance of being a sort of addition, is certainly an integral part of the Gospel: linguistic considerations conclusively prove c. xxi. to be from the same hand as cc. i.-xx.\* As, therefore, these four verses were written after St. John's death, and by the same person who wrote the whole Gospel, it follows that St. John cannot have been the author of the Gospel (pp. 676-8).

It is remarkable that Lightfoot's inference was the diametrical opposite of Harnack's. He says:

Apart from the identity of style [in c. xxi. and the rest of the Gospel] it is hardly likely that the chapter was written after the Apostle's death, for in that case an event which threw so much light upon our Lord's mysterious utterance respecting the Beloved Disciple would scarcely have been passed over in silence.†

This contrast affords a warning as to the subjective and precarious nature of such inferences; there are usually so many plausible or possible explanations, so many points of view, that it is difficult to be sure that our particular interpretation is the true one. In regard to the verses in question, I do not know whether it be prejudice or custom, but I never suspected in them the presence of any reference to St. John's death as a *fait accompli*, and I cannot see it now. The writer quotes words spoken by Christ of St. John, and states that they were commonly understood by the disciples to mean that St. John was not to die, but adds that this was not what Christ had really said, and quotes again the exact words. Who could better make the correction than he who had heard the words spoken about himself? and if St. John in his old age knew that such reports were circulating, what more natural than that he should make the correction?

(b) Harnack urges also the verse xix. 35: "And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe"—where

\* For proof that c. xxi. is by the same author as the body of the Gospel, Harnack refers to Jülicher ("Einleitung," 245-6). The English reader will find the evidence collected by Lightfoot ("Biblical Essays," 194). Lightfoot thinks the Gospel was intended to end with c. xx., and that c. xxi. was added afterwards by the author himself.

† "Biblical Essays," 195.



the second "he," which I have italicised, is ἐκεῖνος. That the eye-witness here refers to himself as ἐκεῖνος is, in Harnack's opinion, "in spite of all that has been written upon the passage, a desperate expedient" (p. 675). Lightfoot does not deal with the point anywhere in his elaborate discussions on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel; \* he appears not to have felt the difficulty.† Harnack goes still further :

The obvious, and, in my opinion, the necessary, conclusion that he here distinguishes himself from the eye-witness, and thereby altogether denies his having been himself an eye-witness and his identity with the John who stood under the Cross, cannot be shaken by such apparently strong passages which seem to prove that the writer was an eye-witness, as 1 Ep. i. 1-3, or Gosp. i. 14.

[The first of these two passages is as follows : "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled concerning the Word of life (and the life was manifested, and we have seen, and bear witness, and declare unto you the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us), that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you." (1 Ep. i. 1-3).]

Harnack continues :

We must remember that a mystic is speaking who on the one hand can write, "No man hath seen God at any time" (Gosp. i. 18), and on the other, "He that doeth evil hath not seen God" (3 Ep. 11), and "Whosoever sinneth hath not seen Him (God), neither knoweth Him" (1 Ep. iii. 6). What sort of a hearing, seeing, beholding, handling it is that he means appears antithetically from the story of Thomas, which ends with the words, "Because thou hast seen Me thou hast believed : blessed are they that have not seen, and have believed." This passage shows that he cannot mean an earthly seeing, &c., in 1 Ep. 1-3 (p. 676).

This seems indeed "desperate" exegesis, equally opposed to common sense and to the plain meaning of 1 Ep. i. 1-3 : there is not the least analogy between this passage, with its tremendous emphasis of reiteration and physical literalness, and those cited by Harnack. Certainly if the writer of the Epistle had not been an eye-witness of what he writes about, his language can only be explained away, not as "mysticism," but as simple falsehood.

(c) The fact that throughout the Fourth Gospel St. John is

\* "Biblical Essays," 1-198.

† Cf. p. 197.

never called by his name, but by a title of special honour—"the disciple whom Jesus loved"—is an indication that the Gospel was written by some one else; and if by a disciple of his, also named John, what more natural? In one place (xxi. 2) the "sons of Zebedee" are spoken of quite objectively.\*

### 2. *The Epistles.*

Epp. II. and III. respectively begin: "The Elder unto the elect lady and her children," "The Elder unto Gaius." The author thus calls himself not an Apostle of Christ, but "the Elder"—ὁ πρεσβύτερος—the very title given to the second John by Papias (p. 675).

### 3. *The Apocalypse.*

The writer speaks of the twelve Apostles in so objective a way that it is hard to suppose he can have been one of them—*e.g.*, "The wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb" (xxi. 14), and "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and the saints, and the apostles, and the prophets" (xviii. 20), (p. 675).

I shall content myself with stating these grounds of Harnack's view without raising any such questions, as—*e.g.*, in regard to the last, whether the expressions in the Apocalypse are not so very objective that there is no difficulty in supposing them to have been employed by an Apostle. Harnack thinks that it must be put down as an "irrefutable result" of the evidence just recited that the Fourth Gospel was not written by the Apostle John (p. 680). I cannot but think this is going beyond the evidence, and that the verdict "not proven" is the one that must be returned.

In regard to v. 24 of c. xxi. of the Gospel: "This [*i.e.*, the Beloved Disciple] is the disciple which beareth witness of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his witness is true," Harnack believes it to be a marginal gloss, in which the style of the Evangelist is "painfully imitated," that has crept into the text; and he says it is unintelligible to him how any other view can be taken (p. 677). The plural οἶδαμεν, "we know," is of course very striking, the writer of the verse seeming to distinguish himself from the person who beareth witness and who wrote the Gospel. Lightfoot con-

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\* P. 677, note.

jectured (what is suggested by the Muratorian Canon, and seems in itself likely enough) that St. John spoke or dictated his Gospel to a circle of disciples, and that this verse is, as it were, the endorsement of those who wrote it down, and could vouch for St. John's truthfulness.\* (It seems conceivable that a similar account might be given of xix. 35 also.) The staunchest upholders of the full Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch allow that Deut. xxxiv. 5-8 (the verses describing Moses' death and burial) were added by some one else.

Harnack's treatment of the external evidence as to the authorship of the five Johannine books is much more elaborate; there are preliminary investigations into the chronology of the Christian writers of Asia Minor—chiefly Irenaeus, Polycarp, Papias, and Polycrates—(pp. 320-363); and then follows a discussion of their evidence as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel (pp. 656-674). The first of these two sections in particular is an admirable piece of work, even though it may not in every single item carry conviction.

Harnack believes that the five documents were written in Asia Minor; and he fully admits that during the second half of the second century the tradition was well established in Asia Minor that it was the Apostle John who wrote the Fourth Gospel: the belief is established by the evidence of Irenaeus, Polycrates, Clement of Alexandria (and Apollinaris of Hierapolis). If such is the case, and if "the testimony of the churches of Asia Minor stands behind" these writers, I cannot but think that Harnack attaches too much importance to the absurd opinion of the Alogi (also in Asia Minor) that the Gospel and Apocalypse were by the heretic Cerinthus: he seems to hold that, though the belief was general throughout Asia Minor by *c.* 175, it cannot have been firmly established in *c.* 165, or the Alogi could not have traversed it. This surely is very mechanical criticism. Polycrates, if not Irenaeus, carries the tradition back to a much earlier date; and in addition we have the evidence of Justin Martyr. He nowhere says that St. John was the author of the Gospel, but he does say he was the author of the Apocalypse: and as Harnack is satisfied that the two books are from the same hand, he accepts

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\* "Essays on Supernatural Religion," p. 187.

this as evidence that Justin attributed the Gospel also to St. John, and that therefore the belief in his authorship can be traced back to *c.* 150. But does it not prove more? Shortly after his conversion, fifteen years earlier, Justin spent some time in Asia Minor, and in Ephesus itself. It is natural to date from this time his belief in St. John's authorship of the Gospel; and this would show that it was already the tradition in Ephesus in *c.* 135. If, as Harnack believes (*p.* 680), the Johannine books were written in Asia Minor, this circumstance is of considerable importance.

On the testimony of Irenaeus it is necessary to speak at greater length. St. Irenaeus declares that in his youth he had known St. Polycarp, and that St. Polycarp had known many of the personal disciples of the Lord, and in particular John, and used in his discourses to relate what they had told him (*cf.* the passage quoted above, *p.* 4, *note.*) Now it is agreed that Irenaeus believed this John to have been St. John the Apostle; and also that he believed St. John to have been the author of the Fourth Gospel. Both these propositions are admitted by Harnack. He maintains, however (1) that Irenaeus was but a boy of 10 to 15 years when he knew Polycarp; (2) that his intercourse with Polycarp was not personal, and was very slight—he had only heard him preaching; (3) that therefore it is quite likely (and Harnack believes it to be a fact) that Irenaeus is mistaken in identifying the John spoken of by Polycarp with the Apostle, and that in reality he was John the Presbyter, mentioned by Papias.

Prof. Gwatkin, in an admirable article of only six pages (*Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1897), discusses this theory, and shows how improbable it is that Irenaeus should be mistaken as to who was the teacher of his own great teacher. The arguments are drawn from the broad facts of human nature; and it is precisely here that we find the methods of German criticism defective. It is admirable in its acumen, its thoroughness, its diligence: but it so often fails from the very mechanical character of its processes. It is as corrective of this failing that Prof. Gwatkin's few pages are so singularly good. He contends that the expression *ἐν πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ* means "early manhood," and points to the age of 18 to 20 rather than to childhood. As to Irenaeus' knowledge of Polycarp having

been limited to the hearing of sermons, he points out how vivid and life-like is the picture he has drawn :

I can describe . . . his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life, and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people . . . and I can testify in the sight of God, that if the blessed and apostolic elder [i.e. Polycarp] had heard anything of this kind [i.e., the heresy against which Irenaeus was writing] he would have cried out and stopped his ears, and said after his wont, "O good God, for what times hast Thou kept me, that I should endure such things?" and would even have fled from the place where he was sitting or standing when he heard such words.

Prof. Gwatkin appositely asks if St. Polycarp can have been in the habit of thus abruptly terminating his sermons: and Irenaeus is writing to one who also had known Polycarp, and the whole force of his letter depended on the picture of Polycarp being recognised as true.\* On the possibility of Irenaeus being mistaken as to which of the two Johns had been St. Polycarp's teacher, Prof. Gwatkin observes :

It is hard to suppose that Polycarp's discourses did not often enough show plainly which of the two Johns had been his teacher. Did he never tell how the Baptist pointed out the Lamb of God? Or did he leave out the Crucifixion from his teacher's Gospel? It is, if possible, harder still to doubt that all the Churches knew perfectly well which of the two had taught "the Teacher of Asia" the Father of the Christians, as even heathens called Polycarp. Had his old companions left no memories behind? Were there none still living a little younger than himself? . . . Had Irenaeus no companions? Or did he never meet any of them again? Or were they all mistaken with him? . . . I see no escape from the conclusion that this is more than almost any other a question on which it is hardly in human nature that Irenaeus can be mistaken when he tells us that the Apostle John, and not another, was the teacher of his own old master Polycarp.

Prof. Gwatkin's little paper is brimful of good sense put in the most telling way, and its value as a contribution towards the solution of the great problem is altogether out of proportion to its small size. It is necessary to bear in mind that the combined import of a series of statements is not most safely arrived at by attaching to each single statement its

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\* The full context is given in the article referred to; also in Lightfoot's "Essays on Supernatural Religion," p. 96, cf. p. 100 for another passage from Irenaeus relative to Polycarp.

minimum, any more than its maximum, of signification. It seems to me that in his treatment of the questions connected with Irenaeus, Papias, and "the Presbyters" they refer to, Harnack often departs from the *juste milieu* of the finest criticism.

I shall look out with great interest for Dr. Harnack's discussion of the internal character of the group of Johannine writings in the third part of his History. In view of the facts that he holds them all five to have been written between the years 80 and 110, and by a Disciple of our Lord; and that he himself asks in the Preface: "Why should not 30-40 years after St. Paul be sufficient time to reach the elevation of the fourth Evangelist?"—it is evident that the reasons that are to dethrone the Apostle John in favour of the Presbyter John, must be different in character from those hitherto alleged against St. John's authorship—different from those alleged by Jülicher.

I have thus entered at some length upon this question, because I think there can be no doubt that with Harnack's speculations it has entered upon a new phase, and because it seems desirable that all who are interested in the serious study of Biblical questions should be acquainted with the actual state of the more important problems.

I shall refer, but quite briefly, to Harnack's discussion of the date and authorship of the First Epistle of St. Peter (pp. 451-465). He places the date at 60-80 probably, certainly before 96. He finds it difficult, however, to believe that it was written by St. Peter, and for the following reasons:

1. In face of his denial and desertion of his Master, it cannot be supposed that Peter could have written the verse—v. 1—could have spoken of himself as a "witness of the sufferings of Christ." This objection rests upon a theory as to the nature and extent of Peter's restoration: certainly, the writer of the Acts represents St. Peter as speaking to the Jews of Christ's sufferings and death, and as calling himself "a witness," twice perhaps specifically of the Resurrection, but once more generally "of these things" (v. 32).

2. Harnack quotes, with limitations indeed, but with general approval, a passage from Jülicher, emphasising the resemblance in tone and spirit of this Epistle to those of St. Paul, which the author must have read (especially the Epistles to the Romans

and the Ephesians), and he thinks it unlikely that St. Peter should ever have entered so thoroughly into St. Paul's ideas. This almost looks like a survival of a mild form of Tübingenism. That even grave differences of view had existed in the middle of the first century on practical questions as to the obligations and mutual relations of Jewish and Gentile converts to Christianity, is evident from the story of the Acts and of St. Paul's Epistles;\* but the principles of the settlement were laid down at the Council of Jerusalem, and it seems very hazardous to form opinions as to what changes and developments St. Peter's ideas may, or may not, have undergone during the fifteen years that elapsed between that event and his martyrdom in Rome. The Church had spread abroad and had grown by strides; and it would be only natural that men's minds and ideas should have widened out and grown with the growth of Christianity; it is commonly held that St. Paul's own conception of a Universal Church only gradually unfolded itself to his consciousness.

Harnack does not consider these objections to the Petrine authorship of the Epistle to be decisive; for he says that he would certainly hold it to be by St. Peter himself rather than admit that it might be a second century forgery. This, however, is what he does think of the first two verses of the Epistle and the last three—the only passages in it which identify the author with St. Peter: these two passages he believes to be interpolations made after the middle of the second century; for, although the Epistle was used and cited by many earlier writers, Irenaeus is the first to say that it was written by St. Peter. Harnack similarly supposes that the words "the brother of James," in the first verse of the Epistle of St. Jude, are a later interpolation made *c.* 150–180 (p. 468).

A purely paleographical difficulty arises. It is a phenomenon by no means unknown in the textual history of documents, that the extant copies of a work should all be descended from a single ancestor into which an interpolation or other corruption had found its way, so that the error has been propagated in all surviving MSS. of the work;—though usually the secret is betrayed by a version or by some other side-light. This, I say, is possible, and instances are forthcoming. But it is obvious

\* On this subject I have spoken on a previous occasion in these pages: *Cf.* "The Apostolic Age," DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1897.



that the chances are altogether against such a freak (for so it must be called), and more especially in the case of a work widely circulated before the corruption occurred. Now 1 Peter was used by Clement, by Ignatius, by Polycarp, by Papias, and by the author of 2 Clement (so Harnack, p. 461-2), so that its wide circulation during the first half of the second century is quite established, and it is proportionately unlikely that all our copies should be descended from a single ancestor vitiated about the middle of the century.

Moreover, granting that this may have been the case in regard to 1 Peter, it is far more unlikely that the same curious chance should have repeated itself in the case of a second New Testament document, also widely circulated in the first half of the second century—St. John's Gospel.\* What, then, is to be said of the idea that the same chance should have befallen not only 1 Peter and St. John's Gospel, but also St. Jude's Epistle, St. Matthew's Gospel (pp. 700, 718), and once and again the Pastoral Epistles (where Harnack postulates a two-fold set of interpolations, first *c.* A.D. 100, and again *c.* 150, pp. 480-485). In order to estimate the chance of a number of independent improbabilities occurring together, it is necessary not to add, but to multiply together, the single improbabilities. What a stupendous figure this would give us to represent the improbability of the five documents (to count the Pastoral Epistles as one document) having each descended from a single interpolated copy. The improbability is considerably heightened if Dr. Hort's view be accepted—that during the first three centuries New Testament manuscripts "were usually small, containing only single books or groups of books;"† for Harnack's theory would practically postulate the proximate descent of the New Testament from a single collection, which happened to contain interpolated copies of the five books. He holds that the interpolations were

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\* As said above (p. 8), Harnack supposes xxi. 24 to be an interpolation; but he seems to partially feel the difficulty here raised, for he says that as the verse stands in all known MSS. and authorities for the text, it must have been interpolated at an early date (p. 680). Stronger still is Lightfoot when speaking of *c.* xxi. as a whole, which he regarded as an addition made to his Gospel by the Evangelist himself; he says: "As all the manuscripts without exception contain the chapter, and there is no trace of its ever having been wanting from any copies, the probable conclusion is that it was added before the Gospel was actually published" ("Biblical Essays," 195).

† "Introduction," p. 10.



made as late as the middle of the second century. The earliest versions must date almost from that period ; and the bifurcation of the text into the two great families, the Western and the non-Western, must have already begun. So that there is but a very narrow margin of time, if any margin at all, for the interpolated copies of the books in question to have supplanted the earlier text. The New Testament has come down to us through more than one line of descent, capable of being traced back up to the very period of the (supposed) interpolations. This appears from the fact that alterations still more primitive may be clearly discerned in extant documents. I give only one instance : Whatever happened at the end of St. Mark's Gospel, it took place at a very early date—Harnack says soon after 110 (p. 719), long before the date of the (supposed) interpolations—and yet the traces of the operation lie on the surface of the history of the text. The fact that so many textual variations and corruptions dating from the first half of the second century can be detected as such by means of the extant documentary evidence, renders it in the highest degree unlikely that such interpolations as Harnack postulates could have been made in the middle of the century without leaving a vestige of the process, or any paleographical reason for suspecting that there is anything amiss with the text. It seems to me that from the side of mere textual criticism the difficulties in the way of Harnack's series of interpolation-hypotheses are practically insuperable.

In his Preface, Harnack says that though "the hypotheses of Baur's school are now, it may almost be said, universally rejected, still there survives in the criticism of early Christian documents a vague distrust," manifesting itself, among other ways, "in a tendency to detect interpolations on a large scale." I cannot but think that he has himself, to some extent, fallen under the influence against which he seeks to guard his readers.

The main reason for rejecting the apostolic authorship of many of the Epistles (the Pastoral, and those of James and Jude) is the traces found in them of incipient Gnosticism, such as is declared to be an anachronism in the first century. The English scholars, Lightfoot and Hort, did not believe that the errors combated afford any ground for doubting the first

century origin of the writings in question.\* Writers of the German school will say that Lightfoot and Hort are under the influence of (unconscious) theological prepossessions. The same used to be said of their maintenance of the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles, and it was pronounced impossible that the Church organisation and doctrine reflected in those Epistles could have existed at the beginning of the second century. But it is now on all hands recognised that the two English scholars, in spite of all doctrinal prepossessions, were right, and that the state of things portrayed in the Epistles did exist in the first years of the second century. Nay, more. Harnack writes :

What the great work of Irenaeus does for us, backwards and forwards, as the relative result of the developments from 110-180, and as the key for the understanding of the inner history of the Church from 180-451, that the First Epistle of Clement and the Ignatian Epistles do for us backwards and forwards for the period from 30-110, and from 110-180. Whoever studies these Epistles attentively must realise what a fulness of traditions, pronouncements, teachings, and organisations already existed in Trajan's time [98-117], and were firmly established in individual communities (Preface).

I am afraid that what has so far been written in this article may perhaps give a wrong impression of the character of Dr. Harnack's book. As a matter of fact, the discussion of the New Testament documents occupies but a small part of the bulky volume. I have up to this spoken exclusively of these portions, both because they are the portions in which most readers are likely to take the greatest interest, and also for the very reason that they seem to me to be the weakest in the book, and the places wherein the author's usually judicious and sober criticism rings less certain and true. For if there is one feature that is characteristic of the book as a whole, it is the objective nature of the criticism, and the weight attached to external evidence in investigating questions of authorship and date. For example, Dr. Harnack is strongly disposed to accept Tertullian's statement that St. Barnabas was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews : (1) because it is the earliest attribution ; (2) because Tertullian states it not as an hypothesis, but

\* On the Pastoral Epistles in this particular aspect, see Lightfoot, "Biblical Essays," 411 ff., and Hort, "Judaistic Christianity," 130 ff.

as a well-known fact; (3) because such a North-African tradition represents a Roman tradition; (4) because Tertullian had seen Barnabas' name in the title of a MS.—“*extat et Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos*”—and this is the earliest MS. evidence on the authorship (p. 477).

Harnack challenges the received chronology of St. Paul's life and of the Apostolic age; he is disposed to place St. Paul's conversion in A.D. 30, only a year after the Crucifixion (p. 233–243). This seems a very short time to allow for the events related in Acts i.–viii. Mr. Turner, in his article on the Chronology of the New Testament in the recently-published “*Dictionary of the Bible*” (Messrs. T. and T. Clarke), examines and criticises with great elaboration and care Harnack's positions on this subject. His conclusion is that while Harnack has shown that the received chronology (as represented by Lightfoot, “*Biblical Essays*,” 215–233, 399–437) places most of the events too late, he himself places them too early—*e.g.*, he places St. Paul's escape from Damascus at a date (A.D. 33) at which the coins show that Aretas was not yet in possession of the city.\* As the Acts and Epistles are (happily) coming to be taught so much more generally in our schools, it will be of interest, and perhaps of use, to compare the three systems in regard to the chief dates of the Apostolic history. Lightfoot is given as representing the commonly-received chronology:—

	Harnack.	Turner.	Lightfoot.
The Crucifixion . . . .	29	29	30
St. Paul's conversion . .	30	35–36	34
*Council at Jerusalem . .	47	49	51
*St. Paul's arrest . . . .	54	56	58
*St. Paul reaches Rome . .	57	59	61
*The Acts close . . . . .	59	61	63
St. Peter's martyrdom . .	64	64–65	64
St. Paul's martyrdom . . .	64	64–65	67

\* These four dates are calculated from the recall of Felix, which the three authorities place in 56, 58, and 60 respectively. Mr. Turner's article is a model of clearness in dealing with a series of most complicated and difficult problems.

\* Mr. Turner establishes, with what seems great verisimilitude, two important conclusions in regard to Eusebius' method of reckoning in his Chronicle: (1) That with him the new year began not in January but in September; and (2) that he reckons the regnal years of each emperor not

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I have tarried so long over the New Testament that there is little time or space remaining to deal with the non-canonical writings, though they occupy by far the greater part of Harnack's volume. On reflection it appears to me that the most satisfactory and the most useful thing I can do will be simply to compile out of the body of the book, and out of the elaborate tables at the end, a bare chronological list of those Christian writings of the first two centuries whereof at any rate notable fragments exist. Students will be glad to have such a table, and those who are not students will get a better idea of the lie of the land from a table than from many pages of description. The table, of course, represents Harnack's views, and I record the items without comment,

## A.D.

- 48—9 St. Paul's two Epp. ad Thessalon.
- 53 St. Paul's Ep. I. ad Corinth; Ep. ad Galat.;  
Ep. II. ad Corinth.
- 53—4 St. Paul's Ep. ad Roman.
- 57—9 St. Paul's Epp. ad Coloss.; ad Philem.; ad  
Ephes.; ad Philipp.
- 59—64 St. Paul's Pastoral Epp. (the kernel).
- 65—70 St. Mark's Gospel.\*
- 70—75 St. Matthew's Gospel.†
- 60—96 First Ep. of St Peter.
- 65—95 Epistle to the Hebrews.
- 65—100 Gospel according to the Hebrews.
- 78—93 St. Luke's Gospel and Acts of the Apostles.
- 93—96 The Apocalypse.
- 93—97 First Epistle of Clement.
- 80—110 Gospel and three Epp. of St. John.

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from the day of his secession, but from the September that next followed it—a method easily accounted for when the tabular nature of the Chronicle is borne in mind. Mr. Turner bases these conclusions on a consideration of the four reigns, Tiberius to Nero, only: if an examination of the Chronicle as a whole should confirm these results, it is evident that he has made a very important chronological discovery.

\* Harnack rejects the "Ur-Marcus hypothesis," i.e., the theory that our Second Gospel is a redaction of a more primitive document (p. 700).

† This of course means our Greek canonical First Gospel. On the question as to whether St. Matthew had written an Aramaic Gospel, the source of the portions common to our First and Third Gospels, Harnack declares that he is unable to make up his mind: he considers the hypothesis a possible one, but not yet certainly established (p. 694, note).

A.D.

- 90—110 Pastoral Epp. (in substantially their present shape).\*
- c. 110—120 Soon after 110 the Four Canonical Gospels brought together into one Book.
- c. 90—130 Gospel of the Egyptians.
- c. 100—130 Epistle of St. Jude.
- c. 100—130 Gospel of Peter.
- c. 100—140 Kerygma Petri.
- 110—117 Seven Ignatian Epp. and Ep. of Polycarp.†
- (111—112 Ep. of Pliny to Trajan.)
- (115—117 Annals of Tacitus.)
- (120 Suetonius' Lives of the Cæsars.)
- (124—5 Ep. of Hadrian to Minucius.)
- c. 115—140 Shepherd of Hermas (first draft c. 115, finished in present shape c. 140, all by same hand).
- c. 120—140 Ep. of St James.
- c. 120—160 Apocalypse of Peter.
- 125—6 (?) Apology of Quadratus.
- 130—1 Ep. of Barnabas.
- (134 Ep. of Hadrian to Servian)
- 130—150 Basilides, Satornil, Valentin, and Cerdo (heresiarchs).
- 130—160 Didache (in present shape).
- 138—147 Apology of Aristides.
- 135—176 (Probably c. 140) Dialogue of Aristo of Pella.
- 138—144 Marcion the heresiarch.
- c. 140—150 Roman Baptismal Creed (earliest form of the "Apostles' Creed").
- c. 145—160 Papias' Commentary on the Sayings of the Lord.
- c. 140—180 Sources of the Egyptian Apostolic Church-order.
- c. 145—185 Ptolemæus, Heracleon, and Marcus (Valentinian Gnostic heretics).

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\* Harnack believes that certain further additions were made about the middle of the century.

† It will be noticed that Harnack has come round to Lightfoot's date for these documents: at first, even after receiving them as genuine, he placed them twenty or thirty years later.

- A.D.
- c. 150 Irenaeus' "Presbyters" flourished.
  - c. 150 Hegesippus comes to Rome.
  - 152—3 Apology of Justin Martyr.\*
  - 155—160 Justin's Dialogue with Trypho.
  - c. 155—160 Tatian's Speech.
  - 155 Letter of the Smyrnaeans on Polycarp's Martyrdom.
  - 157 Montanus (heresiarch in Phrygia).
  - c. 150—175 Second Epistle of St. Peter.
  - c. 150—180 (Justin?) de Resurrectione.
  - 160—170 Apology of Miltiades.
  - c. 160—170 Acts of Carpus, Pappylus and Agathonike.
  - c. 160—170 Acts of Paul, including "Paul and Thecla," and the spurious Correspondence between St. Paul and the Corinthians.†
  - 165 Acts of Justin's Martyrdom.
  - 166—174 Second Epistle of Clement (by Soter, Bishop of Rome).
  - c. 170 Letters of Dionysius of Corinth.
  - c. 170 Bardesanes the heretic.
  - c. 160—180 Writings of Melito and Apollinaris.
  - 160—180 Tatian's Diatesseron.
  - c. 170—180 Works of Apelles the heretic; Dialogue with Rhodon.
  - 176—180 Celsus' Work against the Christians.
  - 177—180 Supplication of Athenagoras.
  - 178—9 Letters on the Martyrdoms at Lyons and Vienne.
  - 180 Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs.
  - 175—190 Hegesippus' "Memoirs."
  - 180—185 Apology of Apollonius.

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\* The date of Justin's Apology determined by Harnack has since been definitely confirmed by a papyrus, which fixes the term of office of Felix, the Prefect of Egypt mentioned in the Apology, from 148-154. Thus the earlier date of Justin's martyrdom (148), defended by Hort, is excluded ("Theol. Literaturzeitung," 1897, col. 77).

† Considerable fragments of the *Acta Pauli* have been discovered in Coptic since the publication of Harnack's volume: from these it appears that the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the spurious Correspondence with the Corinthians, and also the Martyrdom of Paul, formed episodes of the Acts of Paul ("Theol. Literaturzeitung," 1897, col. 625 ff.).

- A.D.
- 180—190 Theophilus' "ad Autolycum."
- 181—189 Irenaeus on Heresies.
- 190—1 Letters of Pope Victor, Polycrates and Irenaeus,  
on the Paschal Question.
- c. 190 Letter of Irenaeus to Florinus.
- 190—200 Montanist Controversy (Apollonius and Sера-  
pion.)
- c. 180—210 Gospel of the Ebionites.
- c. 180—240 Pseudo-Justin Oratio ad Græcos.
- c. 180—300 Epistola ad Diognetum.
- c. 100—200 Spurious Letters of St. Paul to the Alex-  
andrians and to the Laodiceans.
- c. 150—250 Christian redactions of Jewish works—Testa-  
ments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Ascension  
of Isaiah: Gnostic Gospels and Acts—  
Gospels of Thomas, Philip, and Matthias,  
Acts of Thomas: Acts of Pilate (after 200).
- c. 250—300 Acts of Peter.
- c. 260—300 Christian Sibylline Poems.
- c. 260—350 Protevangelium Jacobi; but the portion on  
the Birth of Christ is probably of the second  
century.

The last five or six entries fall outside the period, but are included in the list, as they profess by their titles to be primitive. The discussion of the Acts of John had to await Bonnet's edition (since published). The Muratorian Fragment on the Canon is not dealt with in this volume, although usually placed c. 180 (*cf.* Jülicher, p. 92). The Clementine Romance and its sources are to be investigated in the next volume.

When it is said that all the works in this long list are severally dealt with, and that every scrap of evidence, both external and internal, helping to throw light on the date and authorship of each work is discussed with admirable clearness, some idea may be formed of the nature of this volume.\* Of course it embraces a vast deal more than mere chronology; several of the great problems of the second century are touched by a

\* I have not even mentioned the preliminary discussions (pp. 1-230) on Eusebius' History and Chronicle, and on the early Lists of Bishops—Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem: Fr. Bacchus, in the last number of the REVIEW, has spoken of the questions raised concerning the Roman Lists.



master hand, and carried on a stage further towards solution. I shall not waste time in any panegyric on the learning, the scholarship, the sobriety and thoroughness of the book: any one acquainted with Dr. Harnack's work in early Christian history and literature, or at all familiar with recent ante-Nicene work, will know what to expect in this volume. Nor will he be disappointed. It is a hackneyed phrase to speak of a book as "epoch-making;" and I am not sure that it would be the correct epithet to employ here. But the work certainly *marks* an epoch, a turning-point in the critical investigation of primitive Christian antiquity, and this both in regard to the past and to the future. In regard to the past, it may be described as a sort of "taking stock" of the products of the movement in the study of early Christian remains that has been one of the notable features of the intellectual life of the past two or three generations. During that period a prodigious quantity of labour has been expended on the most painstaking study and the most minute analysis of the documents, and there has been a profusion of theories, often, it must be said, running riot. The clash of theories and methods has now issued in certain definite results; the various and jarring forces at play have at length united in the production of a common resultant that may be discerned. The time had arrived to sum up the general outcome of the labours and activities of the past sixty years, and no living man could have been found better equipped for this synthesis than Dr. Harnack. The independent spirit in which he sets to work is shown by the following passage, in which he directly challenges many of the critical axioms of yesterday:

Why should not 30-40 years have sufficed to produce the historical precipitation of the sayings and doings of Jesus which we find in the Synoptic Gospels? Why should 60-70 years have been required for this? Why should the elevation on which the fourth Evangelist stands have first been reached 70-80 years after St. Paul? Why are not 30-40 years sufficient? Why should phenomena which we are easily able to arrange as steps, really be steps, and not have existed alongside each other? Why could not the same author have written the Epistles to the Romans and to the Colossians, seeing that he had written those to the Thessalonians and to the Romans? (Preface).

But in thus questioning some of the methods that have been pursued in the investigation of Christian origins, and in pro-



claiming a reaction towards tradition, Harnack by no means intends to convey the idea that things are returning to the position they were in sixty years ago, and that it is as if nothing had been done in the interval, and that all the work has been thrown away. Very far from it. We owe to the unflagging energy with which these studies have been pursued the recovery of a number of lost documents of the ante-Nicene period; and it is no exaggeration to say that those documents which were previously known are now far better understood than they ever were before, and that the earliest historical developments of Christianity may be studied with a sureness and clearness that has hitherto not been possible.

In regard to the future, Harnack, inspired by his great knowledge of the actual tendencies of scientific erudition, assumes almost the rôle of a prophet:

A time will come, it is already on the threshold, when we shall little more trouble ourselves about the decipherment of the literary-historical problems in the domain of Christian origins; for what in the main can be ascertained on this subject will come to be generally recognised—namely, the essential truth of tradition, apart from a few important exceptions. It will be recognised that partly before the destruction of Jerusalem [70], partly by the time of Trajan [98–117], all the fundamental stamps of Christian traditions, teachings, pronouncements, and even ordinances—except the New Testament as a collection—were essentially perfect, and that it is necessary to conceive of their institution within that period; and also to realise how the general ground lines of Catholicism must be conceived of in the time between Trajan and Commodus [117–190] (Preface).

Since writing this Preface Harnack has declared that the returning confidence in the ecclesiastical tradition and the “tact” of the Church has received a fresh shock by the discovery in Coptic of the apocryphal “Acts of Paul.” The work, somewhat longer than the Acts of the Apostles, turns out to be of a most fabulous character (it probably included the story of “the baptized lion,” referred to by St. Jerome); it was composed after the middle of the second century by “a priest of Asia Minor,” as Tertullian records; and yet it was accepted in the course of the next century as trustworthy in Rome, in Carthage, in Alexandria; Eusebius places it at the head of the *Spuria*, before the Shepherd or the Didache or the Letter of Barnabas; and a portion of it, a “Third”

Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, made its way into certain Syriac copies of the New Testament, and thence into the Armenian Canon, and it is even found in two Latin New Testament MSS. That a document of so late a date and of such a character should have had such a "career of conquest"—"eine solche Siegesgeschichte"—and should have thus made its way to the very threshold of the Canon, certainly raises important questions.\* To one who does not believe in the authority of the Church and her providential guidance by the Holy Ghost, the formation of the Canon is and can be nothing else than the most capricious chance. On the other hand, the actual selection finally made, in an age when confessedly neither critical sense nor literary sense can have been determining influences in the choice, is, to say the least, a very remarkable one; for the canonical books of the New Testament, one and all, are so immeasurably superior as to stand quite apart from all other candidates for admission to the Canon, the Epistle of Clement alone excepted. Meanwhile it is impossible to estimate the bearings of the new discovery on ante-Nicene problems before the Coptic fragments have been published in full. The discoverer, Dr. Schmidt of Heidelberg, is more unguarded than Harnack: he says that the new Acts will utterly shatter our trust in the entire tradition of the sub-Apostolic age.† It is not easy to see how a fabulous novel written in the latter part of the second century could possibly effect anything of the kind, and his prophecy may safely be attributed to the undue partiality of a parent for his offspring. But the document itself will unquestionably be of interest.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

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\* Cf. "Theol. Literaturzeitung," 1897, col. 629.

† *Ibid.* 1898, col. 316.

## ART. II.—SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF'S "NOTES FROM A DIARY."

*Notes from a Diary, 1851-1872.* By the Right Hon. Sir M.  
E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I. John Murray. 1897.

*Notes from a Diary, 1873-1881.* By the Right Hon. Sir M.  
E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I. John Murray. 1898.

THE diaries of Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff have already attracted wide attention, and the large number of "good things" which they contain have been so completely extracted by the newspapers that they are known by now to most people. Readers have been universally grateful for the racy anecdotes with which the diaries abound and the interesting information about an enormous variety of persons and things which they bring together.

I shall take, however, as the text of these remarks one of the few adverse criticisms which have been made on them, as the criticism will help us to indicate what I consider to be a chief element in their interest. The "Notes from a Diary" have been criticised on the score of superfluity in the material included—the occasional record of bare facts and names—a conversation with A. B., a meeting with C. D.—or of trifling sayings on occasions when the reader would hope for something more substantial.

The selection from such a diary for purposes of publication must always be partly a matter of personal taste, in which there is no further appeal. "The reason why I cannot tell," is the last word on both sides. But the author's selection cannot be appreciated by those who do not take in the *raison d'être* of the publication. Doubtless any collection of good sayings, and of anecdotes concerning famous people, has its interest. Such collections are rapidly "guttled" by the reviewers, who put a good mark or a bad one against each paragraph. So regarded, Sir Mountstuart's diary is simply one added to the books of reminiscences of which each year brings its store. The wisdom of including this or that anecdote must

in that case be tested as it is generally tested in such a work. The test is purely literary; each saying or fact recorded stands or falls by its intrinsic interest.

Judged by this standard, Sir M. E. Grant Duff's volumes, rich though they must still remain, would undoubtedly admit of compression. But this rule of selection appears to the present writer to ignore the chief interest of the work. The diaries have undoubtedly some of the interest of reminiscences from contemporary notes. But they have also a far more unique interest. They are the authentic and sufficiently complete record of a mode of life which has been very exceptional. If the plan on which they are written excludes the philosophical reflection which characterises the *journal intime*, if in this respect they remind us rather of the Journal of Sir Walter Scott than of Amiel, the career they reveal supplies very valuable material for the comment of the life-philosopher. It may be a paradox to speak of one who finds this world of such absorbing interest as does Sir M. E. Grant Duff as unworldly—and yet I can find no word which describes better one of the chief characteristics of the work. It is the record of the life of a man devoted to the world, lived in a very unworldly spirit. It presents to us a career inspired from beginning to end by a quasi-religious cult of all that makes this world really interesting. At the basis of this cult lies a good deal of the old optimistic Liberalism of the Fifties and Sixties, so closely associated with the modern triumphs of physical science. The diarist probably in early years anticipated, like his fellows, a perpetual evolutionary progress in the social as in the scientific order—a progress almost worshipful in itself: "Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change." But the spirit inspiring these diaries is far wider and more catholic than that of the Huxleys or the Tyndalls. The old schoolmen used to contrast *curiositas* with *studiositas*. Their contrast implied that a man who had the former—the "curious" man—dissipated his attention too much to attain to the latter—to the thoroughness of the genuine student. Sir M. E. Grant Duff's career is an object-lesson in the possibility of combining the two. This combination of manifold spheres of interest with concentrated devotion is essentially religious rather than worldly. A veritable

thirst for information—not superficial but thorough—on a large variety of subjects, an intense desire to touch at some point all those who have made or are making the history of the world, to learn from them if it might be; if not, at least to see them or come in contact with their personality—here are two leading traits in the man whom the diaries set before us. With a faith which is not of the world he believes it to be intensely worth while, irrespective of any worldly advantage in the ordinary sense, to be in personal relation with any instance of genius or exceptional acquirement. What marks the book off from its fellows is less the special impressions left by the wonderfully large historical portrait gallery in the diary, than the overwhelming sense which the "notes" as a whole convey, that this world is in the eyes of the diarist filled to the brim with persons and things which are worth knowing. And this could not possibly be conveyed by a condensed summary which *only* included the actual sayings or facts of most marked interest noted down by the diarist. It needed a record of how time was spent month by month and week by week. A summary could not give the life itself, or at best could only give the diarist's own impression of his own life—a very insecure test of what it is for others. The contemporary evidence of a mode of life of which a main feature was the consistency of its aim, could only be imparted by a full selection from the record of facts—the multiplicity of the facts being of the essence of the evidence.

I have spoken of the career as unworldly, and as occupied rather with a multiplicity of interests than in following any one path of life. This does not, however, imply that the writer was a spectator of contemporary history rather than an actor in it. His worldly career, indeed, was fortunate enough and distinguished enough. But instead of the commonplace struggle for success which is the record of so many an official career, the steadfastness of purpose of the man of action is exercised in the life here depicted with a far wider aim. With a steadiness of endeavour, and a uniform practicalness in achievement, which would satisfy the requirements of a Jesuit confessor, each day was devoted to seeing what was to be seen and learning what was to be learnt from exceptional and varied opportunities. There is none of the exclusiveness of

the official statesman, or of the professional man—soldier, sailor, lawyer, doctor—or of the man of fashion. With all such men their active interest is apt to centre in a particular group of persons and events. There is not even the exclusiveness of the man of speculative intellect or the recluse scholar who may care little for the mere pageant of the great world. The interest displayed is universal. Everything that is a power in the world or that goes to make any department of its history is included. The zest of a meeting with Cavour or Gambetta is not greater than the zest of a stimulating talk at the Athenæum with Hayward or Kinglake. Men of all creeds, all political parties, all professions, contribute their share. Indeed, diversity of pursuit or opinion in his companions appears to give the diarist a special feeling of piquancy. With something of the temperament which made Lord Houghton ask Cardinal Wiseman to meet Mazzini at breakfast, Sir M. E. Grant Duff rejoices when he finds himself at the Metaphysical Society between Huxley and Manning. His friendships for Renan and Madame Augustus Craven were perhaps stimulated by the fact that in Paris they belonged to spheres which intersected at no single point. With an intense faith allied to an intense scepticism, Sir Mountstuart holds each to be a factor of supreme interest and importance in the history of the world; while the circumstance that their ideals are mutually destructive has no effect even in diminishing the sympathy felt for each.

In spite of his extravagance Comte hit upon an idea in the worship of humanity which, apart from his own grotesque setting, is, we believe, characteristic of many a modern mind. It is one refuge of those whose faith in any one supernatural creed is shaken by the spectacle which history presents of the rise and decay of each in turn, to worship, in some sense, that stately march of civilisation which moves onwards despite the decay of parties and sects. To idealise the moving picture of history, past or present, and to aim at filling worthily one of the pages of its record, is a quasi-religious aspiration to many who have learnt to regard any confident hope beyond the present scene as chimerical.

Such we may almost say is the religion of the pages before us. It is for this reason that, though so much occupied with

the world, the *ethos* of the work is unworldly. It is not worldly advantage or even worldly glory which inspires the life of the writer; it is an idealised view of the intrinsic value of the forces creating and developing civilisation. Thus reverently to approach and contemplate these forces and their manifestations becomes a quasi-religious act. And to acquire fuller and fuller information about persons and things, and so enable himself to appreciate intelligently the varied world in which he lives, is the absorbing occupation of life. A day of botanising in the country is as satisfying as a literary and political gathering at Hampden or York House. Each is an end in itself, a realised picture in an ideal life, wholly unworldly in the absence of *arrière pensée* to personal advantage.

And there are few spheres within which the writer was not drawn. A glance at the index of names shows at once a variety of acquaintance, including a large majority of his contemporaries of the first eminence, and a multitude of the second or third rank. In England alone the number is very great. A member of the House of Commons from early days, and never out of the House until at fifty he was made Governor of Madras, the political sphere was long familiar to him. It included his chief associates, and his intercourse with them was constant. His closest friends joined in forming in 1866 a breakfast club of twelve members, and the choice was made with such a true instinct as to who were really the "coming" men, that not only were all of its members ultimately of high distinction, but Grant Duff could note with satisfaction, some twenty years after its foundation, that through four of its honorary members it was ruling India, Canada, Bombay, and Madras. Grant Duff's connection with the literary world was only less close—if at all less close—than with the political. Such intimate friends as Lord Arthur Russell and Lord Acton belonged to both. At the Athenæum and the Royal Literary Society all that was best in the English world of letters, art, and science was to be found. The Dilettanti and "The Club"—the lineal successor of the association made illustrious by Johnson and Burke—added a somewhat more varied acquaintance. These groups naturally included the most prominent men of science, and Sir M. E. Grant Duff was enough the child of his time to have his full share of scientific enthusiasm. A visit to



the Museum with Owen is evidently as inspiring a prospect as any of the interesting gatherings recorded in the book. Thus we see in these notes much of his intercourse with men whom the world recognised, or soon came to recognise. But of equal interest to the diarist are the many doers of good work, known only to specialists or intimate friends; whom the world at large never knew, and yet who are veritable powers from the quality of their work and their influence on the elect few. The author of a book on botany, an artist, or sculptor, who does fine though good unrecognised work, a religious leader with few disciples, an unpopular metaphysician whose power is known to the few only, a German scholar, translator of the Sikh Granth for the Indian Government, a German constitutional lawyer, the head of a Brahmin sect—here are characters who pass across the scene in a comparatively short space in the diary;—men not belonging in any sense to the great world, some of them never acknowledged by any large public, but each in his way a power in some department of art or learning, and each in consequence stimulating the reverent interest in life of which I have spoken.

But no doubt the cosmopolitan element is a special feature of the work. Foreign Courts—as that of the Empress Frederick—foreign seats of learning, foreign statesmen and *savants* fill a large space. And the record of many a travel with close knowledge of the historical associations of its scene recalls Macaulay's saying that geography is the eye of history. Indeed, the rule of getting all that was to be got from each opportunity is conspicuously exhibited in the record of foreign travel. The historical associations of each town are known or learnt, the thoughts they have inspired in great poets or prose writers are recalled; and few of the actual things or persons which make it interesting in the present are passed over.

This cosmopolitan element in the diarist reminded the present writer of the reminiscences scattered up and down the works of the late Cardinal Wiseman. There is, indeed, a considerable resemblance between the *grande curiosité* of the two men. Both have the same wide sympathy which includes the distinguished students of all countries, as well as the socially and politically eminent. Both were actors in life as well as spectators. Both were primarily and by nature observers and students, and yet were called upon to be rulers of men.



But it is interesting also to note the wide difference in similarity. What was to the English statesman and Colonial Governor an object of life, the patient realising of all possible interest in the civilised world, is to the Cardinal either a recreation or a temptation. The time spent amid the great scholars of many nationalities whom he saw constantly in Rome was, he said, the happiest of his life. Yet it was at variance with his ideal. The belief in the Church, which put all good work on its behalf on a different level from the mere interest of human life, marked him off absolutely from the type to which the Governor of Madras belonged. Without the temperament of the man of one idea—differing in this respect widely from Cardinal Manning—indeed, rather with the temperament of a dilettante—the faith which had possessed Wiseman from early childhood gave him a unity of aim which in the nature of the case could not exist in one who was without it. Each man was equally inspired by the pageant of history as it passed before him; but while to one the Catholic Church was but a single group in the pageant—intensely interesting and picturesque indeed, but only one among many—to the other it was the very centre of all, the one phenomenon which gave coherence to history, which without it was a tale signifying nothing; the ultimate object of devotion to which all else that had any real value in some way ministered. Indeed, if I mistake not, but for his faith in the Church Wiseman would not have been a man of action at all.

There is a strong sympathy with things Catholic in Grant Duff's diaries, further developed by the friendship with Mrs. Craven, which became almost a cult of the beautiful form of refined piety revealed in the *Recit d'une Sœur*. And one may even hazard a conjecture that—again not unlike Comte—the writer views with regret the fact that for him Wiseman's unity of view and aim is impossible, and would welcome a Church of the future, an appointed guardian of religion and science, the embodiment of a new synthesis, which could have the same dominating influence as the Church of the Middle Ages. However this may be, the comparison between the two men, so similar in their appreciation of the drama of life, so closely in sympathy while they preserve the rôle of spectator, and yet poles apart as to the duty of an actor on its scene, is instructive.

The change in Wiseman's mode of life when he put aside his studies and literary pursuits at the age of thirty-six, and threw himself into the Catholic movement, the remarkable meditations still extant which show the thoughts—we had almost said the visions—which inspired the change, have no counterpart in the diaries I am reviewing. On the other hand, all that will-power and steady resolve which these meditations represent, which enabled the naturally mobile nature of the Roman student to break with his fascinating life amid friends devoted to studies similar to his own, and steadfastly to work for what he believed to be the great cause, exhibited itself in the other man in the pertinacity of the life of eager and varied assimilation, and of its record.

"Of its record," I add—for how many people plan to keep a diary and keep it for a month, or less! The present writer pleads guilty to persevering less than a week in his only attempt. Some few, perhaps, keep it for half a year; fewer still for a couple of years. Who keeps it for a lifetime? It is one of the achievements which mark off Boswell from other biographers that he persevered in noting down on his tablets Johnson's table talk. In its own way the perseverance of Sir M. E. Grant Duff is equally remarkable. He far surpasses in this respect Evelyn or Pepys. Boswell's worship of Johnson had in it something of a religion—this was one secret of his perseverance. The secret of Sir M. E. Grant Duff's perseverance is similar. The interest of life, the halo which surrounds history that is in process of making, is to him—we say it again—a religion, and it leads to that consistent pursuit of an ideal which is in spirit essentially unworldly.

The diaries have been so widely read and reviewed, that to quote good things from them which are not already known is practically impossible. My object has been rather to suggest that background—the spirit, character, and intention of the work, and of the life it records—against which the entries appear to me to stand out in a truer and more significant light. I am endeavouring also to help the reader to see the figure that is presented in the diaries as a whole. For the very character of individual entries prevents them from completely accomplishing this object by themselves, because the self-revelations and philosophic musings which mark the *journal*

intime are (as I have already remarked) of set purpose excluded. The record is objective—of persons, places, things, sayings—and hardly ever subjective—of impressions, opinions, reflections.

It is interesting for the Catholic reader to observe the very special fascination exercised throughout the life by things and persons associated with Catholicism. There is something of the spirit of Matthew Arnold in the entries on this subject. We see it as early as the visit to Rome in 1851. The Princes of the Church gathered together in the Sistine Chapel arouse a crowd of historical associations; and a day spent with the Abbot of Subiaco is thus noted :

The lights were out in Santa Scholastica; the abbot had paid us his last visit, the monks had all gone to their cells, and the corridors were empty and silent. The moon looked over the hilltops into the quiet little cloister below our rooms, and half lay in light and half in shadow. I thought over the last few hours, our visit to Sacro Speco (the cave of St. Benedict) the triple chapel of the noble monastery which covers it, the road winding up to hermitages among the mountains, the roses famous in legend for the serpent with crushed head on their leaves. The spell of the Middle Ages and of the Roman Church was on everything—no, not on everything, for I knew, though I could not hear it, that the Anio was dashing below, changed in name, not in character—still the river the heathen poet knew it, still the "headlong Anio."

Scattered up and down are many records interesting to Catholics. It is interesting to know that when the late Lord Coleridge heard Ravignan preach, he said it had "opened to him a new chapter in the human mind"; interesting to read that Gladstone said of Newman's influence at Oxford when at its height, "there has been nothing like it since Abelard lectured in Paris"; interesting to learn that when the diarist met Gambetta in 1878, Gambetta expressed an emphatic opinion from his personal knowledge of Leo XIII. that, though he was likely to be more conciliatory in manner than Pius IX., he would make no substantial change in the policy of the Papacy; interesting to read of Carlyle's estimate of St. Columba—"a thoroughly Irish nature, like any of the people who are shouting Justice for Ireland"; interesting to be told of Carlyle's intellectual respect for and ethical disparagement of the Bollandists; interesting to get many characteristic glimpses of Newman, Montalembert, Döllinger. The friendship with Madame Craven, and the devotion to every page of the *Recit d'une Sœur* stand

on a footing in some sense higher than any other sentiments in this life so varied and so filled with worship of the ideal.

But if we wish to have first-hand evidence of the most habitual characteristic of the man, to cite in the writer's own words the sentiment which most continuously characterises these pages, we cannot do better than turn to the concluding half of the second instalment of the diaries.

When Mr. Grant Duff was appointed Governor of Madras, his friends gave him a dinner before he left for India. The gathering included a number of men of the first distinction, unusually large even on such an occasion. It was a fitting tribute to one whose friendships had been so much to him. And the Governor-elect gave an address, passages in which should be preserved as specimens of happy and unlaboured oratory befitting such a moment. How he ever regarded his friends and acquaintance, how his intercourse with them had formed the chief part of his absorbing communication with all that was instructive in life, is testified in simple and felicitous terms at the conclusion of the discourse.

After reviewing the features in his career for which he is specially thankful, he thus continued :

All these are considerable helps and comforts, but I have one which is greater than any, that all my life I have lived amongst the kind of men who are represented by those I see around me to-night. When I first went up as a boy to Oxford I promised myself that I would do my best to live with those who were superior to me in character, or intelligence, or in knowledge, or in all three. I have, like most people, broken a great many promises I have made to myself, but that one never. I have always endeavoured to have friends, my attitude to whom was half affection and half admiration. It is no light thing to part from such friends, even for a time. It is no light thing to give up such a constituency as I have had ; to say good-bye to the Athenæum and the Literary Society and the Dilettanti and the Breakfast Club, and to those Saturday to Monday gatherings, whether at Hampden, or Knebworth, or York House, which I owe to the kindness of many friends whom I see around me, and to that of many more of both sexes whom they represent. It is no light thing to forego that bath of new ideas which a single day's travelling brings to one who, living in London, has always studied to keep up frequent and close relations with friends on the European Continent . . . . I owe much gratitude to those who organised this gathering, in that they have given me an opportunity of expressing my feelings to each and all of you, and they have done me a further service in preventing its assuming the character of a political demonstration.

The persons amongst whom I am going to live know perfectly well my political connections and antecedents, but few of them can know anything about my private life, and as *Noscitur a sociis* is a good proverb in all parts of the world, I cannot imagine that any one could take a better introduction to all that is best in India than by carrying thither the approbation and good wishes of such a gathering as this, comprising as it does so much that is most distinguished and most powerful in so many departments of English life. To all, then, who are here present, I return my sincere thanks, and not less to some who are not here present, but who have in various ways expressed to me their goodwill; and among these, to Mr. Gladstone, to Mr. Forster, to Mr. Lefevre, to Mr. John Morley, to Lord Coleridge, to Sir James Stephen, to Mr. Morier, to the Master of Balliol, to the Dean of Salisbury, to Sir Henry Maine, to Mr. Augustus Craven, to Mr. Matthew Arnold; and last, not least, to that distinguished man, the most famous ecclesiastic who has lived in our times, one whose name naturally arises to our minds when it is a question of the "Parting of Friends," and who wrote to me the other day to wish me everything that is *bonum faustum, fortunatumque*, in the great office which I am going to undertake. . . . Of course there is a certain risk: no one goes to work in the tropics at fifty-two without incurring a certain risk. Lord Napier and the Duke of Buckingham returned; Mr. Adam and Lord Hobart did not. I hope, of course, and you hope, that I shall draw a favourable number; but in all such cases we can only fall back upon the famous words:

If we do meet again, why, we shall smile;

If not, why, then this parting was well made.

To say that I shall watch with deep interest the fortunes of those here present would be to use an absurdly inadequate expression. Every educated Englishman will do that, for there is a great part of the history of England, for a good many years to come, collected round this table. What I wish to express is something much more intimate and affectionate, which I think I had better not try to put into words. One thing at least is certain, that whether I come back with my shield or on my shield, I shall have done all that can be expected of me if I have brought no discredit to such a company of friends.

WILFRID WARD.

### ART. III.—PICTURES OF THE REFORMATION PERIOD.

#### THE CONVENT OF ST. MARGARET AND ST. AGNES AT STRASSBURG.\*

THE Protestant religion obtained its first footing at Strassburg in 1520. In Germany, the apostles of the new creed invariably set to work by gaining for their cause the all-powerful magistrature of the great towns. They dexterously excited that greed for other people's property which is the prevailing note in all revolutions; and told them that as vows, celibacy, a cloistered life, mortifications, &c., had all lately been discovered to be inventions of the Evil One, and were opposed to Christian liberty, planted on the earth by Jesus Christ, the abolition of monasteries and convents was incumbent upon them, if they would not incur the just vengeance of Heaven. The argument was a potent one, for the irregularities of some of the religious houses were just evident enough to invite criticism and afford a pretext for municipal cupidity. But as regarded the new evangelists, the wish was father to the thought, and we shall see that the greater number of those who fell from their vocations, at Strassburg at least, fell after a long campaign on the part of the reformers, who did their utmost to undermine the steadfastness of the religious, and sow the seeds of those very disorders which have been made to appear as the result of the monastic system.

Moreover, their sword was in every case a two-edged one, for if they were unsuccessful in their efforts, either to detect or produce abuses, there always remained the alternative argument that all human virtue was no better in God's sight than human vice, for that both were alike unclean.

The league against the religious houses could only be made effectual by an union of interests between the local governments, on whom the monastic foundations depended, and the disciples

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\* "Histoire des Religieuses Dominicaines du Couvent de Sainte Marguerite et Sainte Agnès à Strasbourg." Par M. le Vte. M. Th. de Bussierre. Paris: 1862.

of Luther, for the most part unfrocked monks, who had embraced his doctrine of the uselessness of good works and the consequent absurdity of the ascetic life.

The most prominent, as well as the most learned of these zealots, was Martin Butzer, or Bucer, who having been himself the victim of a monastic abuse only too common at that time, was the more violent in his denunciations of all monastic life and discipline. His early history was not unlike that of Erasmus, although he subsequently went to far greater lengths, and was wanting in the common sense and mental balance which saved the cynic of Rotterdam from the excesses into which less happily constituted minds fell a prey. When Bucer was in his fifteenth year, his grandfather, on whom he was dependent, seeing that the boy had a taste for study, refused any longer to support him, and thus forced him to enter a religious order. This was, in fact, the only way in which those desirous of becoming scholars could achieve learning, unless they happened to be opulent. Bucer's love of books was decided, but there was the necessity of keeping the wolf from the door, and, in despair, he applied for and gained admittance among the reformed Dominicans, lately established at Schellstadt, where the boy was then living. But so keen was his appetite for knowledge that he soon exhausted the literary resources of that monastery, and the prior, thinking well of him, sent him to the Dominicans at Heidelberg. He studied at the University, took his degree, and was later on employed as novice-master. After his ordination he fell in with Luther, read his works, and was greatly struck with his dissertation on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. Its influence upon him was, indeed, so great that he left the cloister, took up his abode with Franz von Sickingen and other friends of the new doctrines, and obtained a Papal dispensation to leave the order. This was the first step to his fall. In 1522 he had become so thorough a convert to Luther's views that he married an escaped nun, and began a new career as a propagandist of anti-Catholic doctrine of every kind. The following year he went to Strassburg, where his rejection of Transubstantiation led to his further abandonment of even Luther's teaching of Consubstantiation, and indeed, of all belief in any sort of Real Presence in the Eucharist. This was well known in Germany, and Cranmer could not have been ignorant



of his views when he offered him the chair of Theology at Cambridge. Bucer accepted, and became no less celebrated for his disputes with Catholic theologians than for his book "*De Regno Christi*." He died in 1551, his second wife, the widow of Oecolampadius, and Capito, surviving him.

Meanwhile, a violent campaign was being carried on at Strassburg against every tenet of the Catholic religion. Conrad Treger, Provost of the Augustinians, one of the most able and zealous defenders of the ancient faith in Germany, held a public dispute in 1524, at the Franciscan Convent, with Capito, Bucer, and other Alsatian innovators. But from the outset it was clear that the so-called Conferences would end in less than nothing, for the Protestant disputants began by declaring that they held the private interpretation of Scripture to be the sole groundwork of truth, rejecting tradition and the living voice of the Church. Thus all mutual understanding was rendered impossible. Treger told them roundly that their arrogance was consummate :

"You will have nothing to say to the definitions of Doctors and Councils," he exclaimed, scornfully, "nevertheless, you think to enforce your own, putting yourselves above these learned Fathers and august assemblies. Verily, it is the meaning *you* give to the words of Scripture, and not *Scripture itself*, which is your rule of faith."

We are accustomed, after nearly four centuries, to this style of religion ; but it was a novelty then, and, the statement being unanswerable, put Treger's opponents into a fury. They persisted in their assertion, which was almost word for word what he had declared it to be, since it was only their *own* private interpretation that was to be allowed ; and Treger, seeing the uselessness of argument in the face of foregone conclusions, refused to continue the Conferences.

In the general confusion it was uncertain what any of the new teachers believed, for they preached different doctrine from week to week ; but whatever else was open to change, no man might cast a slur upon the infallibility of private judgment.\*

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\* Charitas Pirkheimer, Abbess of St. Clare at Nuremberg, wrote in 1525 : "I am informed that the Strassburgers, Bucer, Capito and others, now say that Christ was not God, but only a pious man, who therefore might call himself the Son of God." Janssen, "*Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*," vol. ii. p. 365.



Their zeal for the spread of liberty was especially directed against all monastic institutions, and henceforth freedom meant being forced to accept the new doctrines whether the religious would or not.

At last, to the great joy of the new evangelists, who styled themselves "Servants of the Word of God," the magistrature decided that it was urgent to begin the reform of all monasteries and convents, and that the first step to this end was to abolish enclosures and to allow free ingress and egress to all. That the work might be done thoroughly, eight individuals were nominated, invested with dictatorial powers, and called *Klosterherren* (convent-lords).

To these were added curators, chosen among the most rabid of the hot-gospellers, who were charged with the constant supervision of the convents. As might be expected, they exercised their functions with the greatest rigour.

Among the eight *Klosterherren* were: the *Bürgermeister*, Bernard Wurmser; Gaspar Baldung, a lawyer; and *Hofmeister*, a member of the Senate.

Foremost to excite their reforming zeal was the convent of St. Margaret and St. Agnes, a model for all conventual institutions, the actual condition of which proved that abolition, not the removal of abuses, was aimed at. A rapid glance at the previous history of this convent will suffice to introduce the reader to the amazing events which took place in 1524 and the following years.

Its beginning takes us back to the year 1236, when a few young girls, desiring to lead a conventual life, joined themselves together in a small house at Eckbolsheim, a village near Strassburg, for the purpose of serving God in recollection, prayer, and charitable works. The austere life which they led attracted a number of others from the most considerable families in Alsace, and in a short time, the little community having grown and flourished, it was affiliated to the Dominicans of St. Mark's, at Strassburg, the Superior sending them two of her nuns to instruct them in religious discipline and in singing the Divine Office. Pope Innocent IV. took them under his protection, and issued three Bulls in their favour, by which he first granted an Indulgence of forty days to whoever helped them in the building of their church and convent, and then

definitely incorporated them into the Order of St. Dominic. The new buildings were erected at Strassburg, the troubles and lawlessness of the times rendering the protection of city walls a necessity. The removal was effected in 1270, the religious taking with them the few poor and humble articles of furniture which had sufficed since their first establishment. They had also two objects of value, the one a crucifix, the other a beautiful picture of Our Lady of Dolours, which had already become famous and was greatly venerated. It is supposed to be the same picture which is carefully preserved in the Cathedral at Strassburg to this day. Mother Perpetua Kleingedenk, a woman of great piety and strength of character, who died a few years later in the odour of sanctity, was then Prioress. Relaxed in its discipline during the fourteenth century, the convent, which had been dedicated to the Blessed Trinity, the Holy Cross, the Mother of God, and St. Margaret virgin and martyr, was restored to its original fervour in 1475. The reform was effected by the Franciscan Abbess, Catherine Weisbroedlein. Her community having died out, she had been induced to take the habit of St. Dominic and to become Prioress of St. Margaret's, which consisted of only eleven nuns, including the Prioress and sub-Prioress. Under the beneficent rule of Catherine Weisbroedlein, the convent again flourished, and arrived at a high degree of perfection. Her successors followed in her footsteps.

We must now turn to the community of St. Agnes, founded in 1240 by a noble lady, Luckard von Kleingedenk, and her son, a pious secular priest. The convent which they raised was an enormous building situated at a short distance outside the walls of Strassburg. Consecrated in 1248 in honour of the Mother of God and of St. Agnes virgin and martyr, the church was enriched with many privileges by the Sovereign Pontiff. But the community suffered in a similar way to that of St. Margaret's. After edifying the world for many years, it became relaxed for a time, the ancient observances and the enclosure being restored in 1465. Henceforth, like its sister community, the convent of St. Agnes was distinguished for its admirable religious spirit and strict adherence to the rule.

When Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, threatened to besiege Strassburg, and the arrival of his troops appeared

imminent, the municipality decided to destroy all the outlying houses which might afford shelter for the advancing army and hamper the defence of the city. Five convents were thus doomed to destruction, and among them that of St. Agnes. The chiefs of the Republic undertook to provide accommodation for the homeless nuns, and the Dominicanesses of St. Agnes were ordered to repair to St. Margaret's and join themselves to that community, which then numbered only seventeen members, the vast building being nearly empty.

To both convents the order came as an unexpected and severe blow. The Dominicanesses of St. Margaret's claimed their privileges, and refused to receive inmates whom they did not know, and whose numbers, far exceeding their own, assured them a preponderating influence in the community. Those of St. Agnes bewailed their fate, and declared that nothing but armed force would tear them from their beloved cloister. The Senate replied by beginning to pull down their walls, destroy their gardens, and fell their sheltering walnut-trees. The convent was thus completely laid open to the public; and the Prioress, Anna von Zorn, seeing that they must yield to necessity, ordered her spiritual children to make their simple preparations for departure. On the 13th December, 1476, the whole magistrature having assembled in the conventual church of St. Agnes, headed by the Bishop of Strassburg, the Bürgermeister went to the Prioress, saluted her respectfully, and said that the members of the Senate were ready to accompany her and the sisters of St. Agnes to St. Margaret's convent. According to an ancient chronicle,\* the community had been called together in the Chapter House, "and the poor afflicted creatures bathed in tears had not a word to say, the silence being unbroken save for the sighs and sobs of the nuns."

They formed into a procession and proceeded to the church with lighted tapers in their hands, their veils covering their faces. Having taken a sorrowful leave of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, and of that of their Patroness, St. Agnes, the nuns walked two by two towards the city. The procession was headed by two noble Senators, Theobald Müllenheim and Friederich von Bock. After them walked the nuns' con-

\* "Chronik über das berühmte Gotteshaus Sanct-Margarethen und Sanct Agnes, Prediger Ordens zu Strasburg. MS. in fo.

fessor bearing a crucifix, and accompanied by two citizens with lighted tapers. Next came a number of young girls who had been educated in the convent, then the novices, followed by the choir-nuns. Behind them walked their chaplain carrying the Blessed Sacrament, and supported by another of the nuns' confessors. After these came the lay sisters bringing the holy oils, then all the Senators of the Republic. The Abbess of St. Stephen's, a princess of the Holy Roman Empire, and the noble ladies of Strassburg, as well as representatives of all the arts and crafts of the city, brought up the rear. When the procession began to move all the church bells of Strassburg rang out solemn peals, and continued to ring for several hours. An event was taking place as memorable and as important as any in the annals of the city, and must be attended with due pomp and circumstance. The long and solemn train entered Strassburg by the Butchers' Gate, and made slowly for the church of St. Thomas, on the left bank of the Ill; but before reaching it, the Prioress, Mother Anna von Zorn, overcome with grief, fell fainting to the ground. When she recovered consciousness they entered the church, and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given. The ceremony was renewed at the church of St. Peter, where the procession was joined by the Knights of St. John, who, preceded by their cross-bearer, conducted the nuns to the convent of St. Margaret. The whole episode of the migration shows the honour and esteem in which religious were regarded by all classes in the fifteenth century. There is not only no trace of the indignities to which they were subjected fifty years later, but the whole action of the civil governments in Germany, if somewhat peremptory in their regard, was throughout protective, and solicitous for the safety and preservation of conventual institutions, which were then considered a blessing and an ornament to the State. There were signs, however, that the power of the civil governments might become excessive and tyrannical. Meanwhile, the venerable Prioress of St. Margaret's, Mother Catherine von Kage-neck, informed of what was going on outside, assembled around her the sixteen nuns who represented the entire convent, and addressed them as follows :\*

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\* "Chronicle," p. 99.

My dear Sisters, it is evident by the broken doors of our church and convent, that we are coerced. We have done all that we could to safeguard our rights and franchise, and it would be useless to offer further resistance. We cannot fathom the designs of Providence; the sisters of St. Agnes have yielded, as we ourselves, to necessity, in accepting a refuge within our walls. It is therefore our duty to receive them charitably. I am aged and infirm, my dear daughters, incapable of governing a house as important as ours is about to become, and considering that the companions whom God is sending us are much more numerous and wealthy than we are, I lay down my office willingly. The Superiress of St. Agnes will in future be your Prioress. I will beseech her to be a good and tender mother to you. But if this arrangement should not be agreeable to some of you, I will write to the Father-General of the Dominicans, asking him to allow you to retire into another convent of the Order.

An outburst of grief on the part of the little community accompanied their Prioress's words, but in vain they had recourse to protestations, to prayers and tears, to induce her to alter her resolve. She declared that, having come to a decision after begging God to enlighten her, that decision was immutable.

At this moment the nuns of St. Agnes were seen timidly entering the convent. The Mother Prioress advanced to meet them, and it was observed that the two Superiresses held each other in a long and affectionate embrace, showing that in their opposition to the decree of the chiefs of the Republic there had been no want of mutual charity. When Mother Anna von Zorn heard that the Prioress of St. Margaret's had abdicated in her favour, she refused to accept the dignity offered to her, and declared that she considered herself but as the humble servant of those who gave her hospitality, and that all she asked of the sisters of St. Agnes was the shelter of a garret and a sufficient number of straw mattresses. But as Mother Catherine persisted in her resolution, Mother Anna laid down her office also. Then the two communities assembled, according to the advice of their respective confessors, and proceeded to an election. It resulted in Anna von Zorn being declared Prioress by the united votes of both congregations. A few aged nuns of St. Margaret's, not wishing to submit to the new Superiress from without, were authorised to enter other houses of their Order.\*

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\* "*Chronicle*," p. 99 *et seq.*

Mother Catherine von Kageneck died a holy death a short time after these events, and in the course of the year 1477 the Sovereign Pontiff formally approved the amalgamation of the two convents, which took the names of St. Margaret and St. Agnes.

Under the Prioress Anna von Zorn the house was distinguished for its Christian spirit and admirable regularity; and contemporary authorities witness to the fact that far from being sunk in vice and ignorance, such as the friends of the Reformation would have us believe was the normal condition of all religious houses, it was, like so many conventual institutions, the very refuge of virtue and learning. The greater number of the nuns of St. Margaret's and St. Agnes' spoke and wrote Latin with elegance, and when it was proposed to reform the convent of Willer in Suabia, which had fallen somewhat from its first fervour, the nuns of that community asked Anna von Zorn to re-establish the strict observance of their rule among them.

She sent them six of her nuns, who fulfilled their mission with complete success.

Many religious houses of different orders and nationalities, such as the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Dominicans of Heidelberg, the Minorites of Upper Germany, the reformed Franciscans, the Dominicans of Selestadt and others, desiring to keep up the holy traditions and primitive strictness of their rule, put themselves in communication with the Dominicanesses of Strassburg.

Popes and their Legates gave them repeated proofs of esteem, and favoured them with many Indulgences.

The Emperor Maximilian I. came to Strassburg in 1507, and hearing the praises of the Sisters of St. Margaret on every tongue, was inspired with a wish to visit their convent. On April 3 he went to their Church, where his chaplain sang High Mass; the nuns assisting to the number of fifty-five. After Mass, the Emperor passed into their refectory, and the Prioress addressed him in a Latin oration. Astonished at the purity of her diction, he replied in the same language, and the conversation was prolonged with great ease and fluency for about half-an-hour. Maximilian was charmed, and gave a substantial proof of his satisfaction, a few months later, by send-

ing to Mother Anna von Zorn, letters patent, confirming the ancient privileges of her convent, and authorising her to receive the possessions of all those who were admitted to profession under her.

She died in 1511 after a rule of forty years, thirty-three of which had been spent in governing the two amalgamated communities.

Agnes von Müllenheim, a woman of very different character but altogether worthy to succeed her, was elected in her place. The new Prioress had a very special love of silence, and knew how to inculcate the same virtue in the hearts of her spiritual daughters. She was accustomed to address them in Chapter as follows :

"Silence is the road to perfection : it is the guide of saints, the wisdom of the just, and the flower of chastity. It serves as a mirror to sinners, as a warning to the penitent. It drives away the demon of worldliness, tends to the knowledge of God, and teaches how the flesh should be mortified, in order that it may be subject to the spirit, and so obey the Divine law."

The manner in which the Sisters profited by this counsel was put to a remarkable test in the year 1520. A terrible fire broke out in the houses adjoining St. Margaret's, which in a few minutes was in imminent peril. The convent steward in directing the operations for the saving of the building told the nuns to place large tubs in front of their door, fill them with water, and provide themselves with buckets. They were to stand in a row and throw as much water on their walls as possible. In spite of the terror and confusion around, the nuns not only maintained their composure, but, says the chronicler,\* not one of them uttered a word as long as the fire lasted. Meanwhile the Prioress, and the aged Sisters whose infirmities prevented their drawing or carrying water, remained praying with great fervour in the choir, when suddenly the sky, which until then had been perfectly clear, was covered with thick clouds, a torrent of rain extinguished the flames, and one of the most populous quarters of Strassburg was saved from destruction.

Mother Agnes von Müllenheim died on January 16, 1521,

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\* P. 119.



after a Priorate of ten years. Her successor, Ursula von Bock, was destined to face the stormy events and violent attacks which signalled the religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

During her government [says the Chronicle] the deplorable sect of Lutherans came into being, and spread like the plague over a considerable portion of Europe. Ursula von Bock, who may be compared to the mother of the Maccabees, encountered ceaseless persecution with an heroic resistance, with a courage and presence of mind that never for one instant failed her. From the year 1521 onwards, the history of the convent of St. Margaret and St. Agnes is rather a martyrology than a chronicle. The successive Prioresses who governed it endured all the [mental] tortures which malice and fanaticism can invent, and merited the crown reserved for confessors of the faith.

It will be seen by the sequel that the above words contain no exaggeration.

An extraordinary change had come over the world since the days when the heads of the Republic had conducted the Sisters of St. Agnes to St. Margaret's convent, with every mark of respect for the religious state, and with almost royal honours. The petty persecutions of the first few years after the spread of Lutheran doctrines had culminated in 1524 in the consent of the magistrature of Strassburg to a systematic policy of persistent seduction, to be followed, if these means failed, by positive coercion. Three out of the eight Klosterherren chosen to wage this kind of warfare against the religious houses—Wurmser, Baldung, and Hofmeister—proceeded in the course of the summer to St. Margaret's, broke into the enclosure and ordered the Prioress and the community, which then consisted of forty-six nuns, to appear before them. They began by telling the nuns in a soft, wheedling tone that they had come to beg them to make known any subjects of complaint they might have, in order that such might be remedied without delay, adding that the Senate had resolved, in its paternal solicitude, to lighten and ameliorate all that was severe and defective in the rule, to which the greater number of nuns had submitted, no doubt, in a moment of thoughtless enthusiasm, without very well knowing to what they pledged themselves.\*

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\* "Chronicle," p. 100.



Then they paused to give the Sisters time to reply, but not one of them opened her lips. The three Klosterherren, then imagining that perhaps human respect and the fear of compromising themselves in public prevented the Sisters from speaking, hoped to achieve their aid by interrogating each one privately. They retired therefore into an adjoining room, and ordered each nun to come before them in turn. There was no choice but to obey. The examination was long and painful, the novel kind of visitors seeking by all the means in their power to force the Sisters to formulate grievances against their Superior, and the order of the things established in the house. They urged that the existence to which nuns were condemned was a dreadful slavery, and that by consenting to it they annihilated the merit of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Promises, threats, flattery, and insults were all brought to bear upon each one of them, to induce them to embrace some other sort of life in the enjoyment of the sweets of Christian liberty.

But all was in vain. With much firmness, the nuns, one and all, declared that they loved and venerated their Superior, that they had entered the convent freely and joyously, to submit themselves to the rule, and to consecrate their lives to the service of the Lord, that they found happiness and peace of soul in the cloister, and that violence alone would drag them out of it. Upon this, the Klosterherren—Wurmser, Baldung, and Hofmeister—were forced to retire, shaking the dust from their feet, and deploring the inconceivable blindness of the nuns. But before they went they declared, as a parting sting, that means would be found to break their fanatical obstinacy, and left them full of apprehension for the future, which events were not long in justifying.

Rapidly as the Reformation was doing its work of destruction, Mass was still said in the Cathedral at Strassburg. But there was much murmuring among the "Servants of the Word" because the Town Council had not yet abolished the "abomination," and one of them declared from the pulpit, that as the Lord had driven the money-changers from the Temple, so the people should rush into the choir, and drive out the priests with scourges. In vain those among the burghers who still remained Catholic protested that they did not wish to compel the enemies of the Mass to assist at the Divine Sacrifice, but only

entreated that they might themselves be allowed, as peaceable citizens who clung to the faith of their forefathers, to attend their services without fear of being disturbed by violence.\* But it was the policy of the new evangelists to let nothing rest on its ancient foundation, to stir up strife even among the peaceably inclined; for only in the whirlwind of excited passions was the revolution at home in its native atmosphere, and in favourable and prosperous conditions.

A tumult among the people was easily raised. Treger, Provincial of the Augustinians, having published a protest against the conduct of the magistrates in having made common cause with heretics, drew upon himself the fury of Senators and evangelisers alike. Before he could be arrested by the arm of the law, from four to five hundred burghers broke into his monastery, secured his person, and carried him away prisoner. In the streets these were reinforced by another rabble crew, coming from the Dominicans, with the Prior also a prisoner; and a third group swelled the numbers of the two former, dragging along with them the parish priest of St. Andrew's, with his curate, and Father Michael Lobender, doctor of theology, and confessor to the nuns of St. Margaret's. The next day a large party of workmen forced the convent gates of St. Arbogast and pillaged the cellars. The city was given over to the lawless will of an ignorant populace, intoxicated with the cry of liberty, and deaf to the voice of authority, so that for three days the magistrates were powerless to restore order. When at last they regained the upper hand the prisoners were released, but under the most extraordinary conditions.

The confessor of St. Margaret's received the order *no longer to dare to preach the ancient faith to the nuns, but to make known to them the pure Word of God as it was taught in the churches in the city*, otherwise he would be dismissed, and replaced by an enlightened director, free from the darkness of Papistry.

Far from obeying such an injunction, Lobender encouraged his spiritual daughters to persevere, declared that they would always find him ready to sacrifice his life for them if necessary, and exhorted them to hold fast the faith they had received. He

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\* Janssen, "Geschichte des deutschen Volkes," vol. iii. p. 99.

warned them that in all probability he would speedily be taken away from them, and that they would be forced to listen to mercenaries, who would seek to lead them into the paths of error ; but that, wherever he might be, he would not cease day and night to cry out to God that His mercy might preserve them from so great a misfortune.

In a few days Lobender's words were verified. He was seized, expelled from the city, and forbidden ever to enter it again. After this purely evangelical exploit, the Klosterherren informed the nuns through their curators that they were forbidden to have another confessor of their Order, or to admit into their house any Catholic priest, whoever he might be, *even for an hour*, or to converse publicly or in private with any minister of the old religion.

They were thus deprived of all counsel and direction at a moment when the danger was imminent.

On Lætare Sunday the three before-mentioned Klosterherren visited St. Margaret's for the second time, caused the community to be assembled, and read to them the following articles, which they ordered them to observe strictly :

1. The celebration of Mass, High and Low, is severely forbidden.
2. The Canonical hours are no longer to be chanted in choir.
3. All that constitutes the pretended Catholic Divine Service is abolished.
4. Confession is forbidden under the most severe penalties.
5. Hosts will no longer be reserved in the tabernacles; neither will the Catholic sacraments be administered; the sick and the dying are not excepted in the present arrangement.
6. Enclosure is definitely abolished. Henceforth the gates of the convents will be open to the laity, who may go in and out freely.
7. All nuns are declared dispensed from their vows; they may if they please quit the habit of their Order, return to the bosom of their families, and embrace the holy state of matrimony.

Having communicated these articles to the assembled nuns, the Klosterherren again took each one apart separately, and had recourse, as on the former occasion, to entreaties and threats, in the hope of inducing them to adopt the "pure religion" that was being introduced into the city. The Chronicle states that they were particularly affable to the young Sisters, advising them to escape from their prison without delay, and return to the world, describing the joys and sweetness of marriage in

the most seductive terms, and repeating again and again that it was lawful for each one, without exception, to embrace this holy state so agreeable to the Lord.

But notwithstanding all the Klosterherren could say, the nuns remained as steadfast as before, and the visitors were obliged to withdraw, without having persuaded one of them to renounce her vocation. In a few days, however, they returned, bringing with them Gaspar Hedio, preacher of the new gospel at the Cathedral. The community was again assembled, and the Klosterherren told them that the illustrious doctor whom they saw before them would preach to them the true and pure Word of God, free from all the impure alloy of human inventions.

He then preached for an hour, in spite of the visible disgust of his audience for his sermon, and when he had finished the Klosterherren informed the Sisters that Hedio would expound the fundamental doctrines of Christianity to them regularly every week. Protests were all in vain, but after two or three sermons, he saw that he was making no way with them, and begged the Senate to dispense him from casting his pearls before swine.

The nuns were not, however, on this account relieved from the ministrations of the new evangelisers. The chiefs of the Republic sent them a message, to the effect that henceforth the bread of the Word would be broken for them by two men, so learned and well versed in the Scriptures that in a single day they had brought to the light of the true faith thirty theologians and several hundreds of simple citizens. The Senators trusted that the religious of St. Margaret's would not be so obstinate in their dislike of the truth as to resist the arguments of such superior minds.

Mother Ursula von Bock replied drily that she could not express gratitude to the Senators for a care and solicitude on their part which she had not desired. After the departure of the deputies, the Prioress assembled her nuns, and addressed them in the following terms:\*

"Unhappily, my dear Sisters, two preachers have been appointed to come regularly into the midst of us, and preach their sermons in our hearing. But we know that they are the ministers of error, and that

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\* "Chronicle," p. 132.

they preach a doctrine contrary to that of the infallible Church of Jesus Christ. It is therefore our duty not to listen to their poisonous discourses, for eternal truth assures us that those who love danger shall perish therein. If Eve had not listened to the serpent, she had not gathered the fatal apple. Do not forget, my Sisters, that these men who will get up here into the pulpit are apostates, that they have broken their solemn vows in the most scandalous manner, and have trodden underfoot the rules of the religious Orders of which they were members. Their discourses awaken sensuality and puff up pride; their words, sweet as honey, are to the true Christian gall and wormwood. I beseech you, my beloved Sisters, to persevere, to allow yourselves to be guided by me, to resist all temptation, as becomes the disciples of a God crucified, and not to give admittance into your hearts to the false maxims and dangerous promises of those who will come here with the openly avowed intention of seducing you."

The nuns having declared unanimously that they were ready to do in all things as their Prioress directed, she told them of a plan that she had formed by means of which they would be preserved from danger. As they had been tyrannically commanded to attend these sermons, nothing prevented them from dressing up dummies in their habits and veils, and placing them in the seats behind the grating which they themselves were supposed to occupy. Neither the people in the nave of the church nor the preachers would suspect the fraud, and the nuns would be thought to be present, without risking harm to their souls by listening to the sermons. A few Sisters among the more aged, and less susceptible of being led away, were to sit by the dummies, so that a certain movement might be observed in the tribune, and they would take the lay-figures away after the preaching.

The plan was declared excellent, and the poor nuns were able to forget their troubles for a time, in laughing over the notion, and in dressing up the dolls that were to take their places, and deceive the apostles of heresy.

It was found, however, that only one of the "celebrated theologians" was to preach at St. Margaret's. This was Martin Bucer. He had arrived at Strassburg the year before, in company with the nun whom he had carried off while he was still parish priest of Landstuhl, a little town in the patrimony of Franz von Sickingen. Bucer was undoubtedly the most intelligent of the followers of Luther and Calvin. He had learning and eloquence, and a prepossessing delivery; but he

was wanting in fixed principles. An enthusiastic Lutheran at the beginning of his heretical career, he became later on a zealous partisan of the Swiss reformer, and towards the end of his life his most intimate friends were ignorant of his real opinions. At Strassburg he had signalled himself at once by his "spiritual conferences," addressed to the relaxed religious communities of the Poor Clares, the nuns of St. Elizabeth, and those of St. Mark, and had induced them to apostatise. All three communities, after a course of his sermons, delivered up the keys of their houses to the Senate, and asked in exchange for life-pensions and husbands. The magistrates therefore concluded that the nuns of St. Margaret's would not long be proof against Bucer's arguments and blandishments; and they charged him to preach his "true and pure doctrine" to them three times a week. His first sermon was delivered on Palm Sunday, 1525. He soon discovered the wretched subterfuge of the hapless nuns, and reported them to the Senate, who ordered them in future to sit in the nave, where they could be seen; and they were obliged to obey. Bucer perceived at once that he had no longer to do with lax observers of the rule, like the nuns he had converted, and his insinuating homilies against fasting, mortifications, and seclusion from the world were quickly changed into violent philippics against the Catholic Church in general, and Religious Orders in particular. He assumed a threatening tone, and announced that if the Sisters refused to accept the doctrine he preached, the Senate would have their house razed to the ground. From menaces he passed to expressions of scorn and pity for the blindness which made them lead a rough and arduous life, in the mad hope of serving God and of acquiring merit, while in reality they were completely caught in the bonds of Satan. "In weaning yourselves from all legitimate joys," he would say to them, "you offend God who has made superabundant satisfaction for you; and after a miserable existence contrary to the laws of nature, hell will be your portion for ever." After several months of such discourse, the Prioress observed with anguish that the fervour of some among her youngest subjects seemed to be growing cold; that they brought less zeal to bear upon their religious exercises, and appeared to cast regretful eyes on the pleasures of the world so constantly represented to them in the

most glowing colours. Her behaviour at this juncture was that of a tender and enlightened mother. She took them apart, spoke with gentleness and authority, showed them the fallacies of the preacher's reasoning, and thus confirmed their faith. She herself wept day and night, kneeling in agonised prayer before her crucifix, entreating the Lord not to forsake the flock he had confided to her. She asked for prayers in all the religious houses, and wrote to the Emperor and to the General of the Dominicans, describing the position in which she was placed, and imploring them to come to her help. Matters were at this point, when one day Bucer ordered the whole community to assemble in the refectory after the sermon. He asked them whether, after the trouble he had taken for so long to instruct them in the true faith, they persisted in thinking themselves wiser than so many learned people who had embraced the Gospel, and whether they were determined to remain in the idolatry and darkness of Papistry?

"The example of the learned affects us but little" [answered Mother Ursula von Bock], "for science is dangerous when unaccompanied by humility; and our Lord has declared blessed the poor in spirit. We are resolved to remain faithful to the teaching of the Church, such as it has been transmitted to us from generation to generation. It is therefore useless for you to continue preaching in this house." The words infuriated Bucer, who, losing all command of himself, poured forth a flood of invective, and ended by declaring that Ursula von Bock was no longer Prioress, that each nun might live as she pleased, and that in future all were equal in the convent. He forbade them to exchange a word with the infamous woman who was the cause of all their obstinacy, and told them that she was excommunicated.

"Who has pronounced the sentence?" asked the Prioress calmly.

"I myself," retorted Bucer, "it is my right since you despise the Word of God."

"Nothing is further from my thoughts," she answered with great deliberation. "I respect the Word of God and the tradition of the Church contained in the writings of the Fathers and the Doctors; but I despise your words, and those of the apostates, your brethren, because they are a tissue of error and falsehood."

Suffocated with rage, and foaming at the mouth, Bucer would have answered her with blows, had not the nuns made a rampart round her. He sprang forward as if to fell her to the ground, but they formed an efficient body-guard. Fearing that they would not be able long to keep him at bay, one of



them had contrived to send for help to the Knights of St. John, whose house was close to St. Margaret's. They succeeded, however, in getting their beloved Mother into an adjoining room, the door of which they barricaded against him, and the ex-Dominican left the convent. In the cloisters he met the Superior of the Knights of St. John, and Dr. Fuchs, *curé* of St. Peter's, hastening to answer the summons of the persecuted nuns. As soon as Bucer caught sight of them, he vomited forth fresh abuse of the Prioress, and swore that the nuns should be made to leave the convent, even if it took the devil himself to turn them out. The others tried in vain to calm him. Bucer went on his way uttering the most horrible curses, and vowing vengeance for the insults he had received. And his words did not return to him void. On Saturday, February 20, 1529, the last Mass was said in the Cathedral of Strassburg, and the next day, for the first time since the city had embraced Christianity, no Sacrifice was offered anywhere within its walls. Bucer's hour of revenge had come. He obtained from the Senate an authorisation to proceed to St. Margaret's, with eight companions, and demolish the altars in the conventual church. Followed by his willing coadjutors and a gang of workmen, he strode into the church, and with brutal haste began hammering and hacking at the altars, statues, and pictures, till the nave was in a short time blocked with ruins. The nuns, clinging to each other in tearful desolation, watched the scene from behind their choir grating. When all was broken that was breakable, the "Servants of the Word" made another of their famous visitations in the convent.

This time they declared the Margarethenhaus to be solely dependent on the magistrature, to whom alone the inmates owed obedience, that in future there would be no Prioress, all enjoying the same equality. The nuns were once more formally released from their vows, authorised to quit the convent, and to live as they pleased. But it was strictly forbidden to them under the most severe penalties to speak to a priest, regular or secular, to have Mass said, to sing Office, say their breviary, or have their bells rung. Each nun was again submitted to a separate interrogatory, and forced to listen to the usual dissertation regarding the joys of matrimony, which it was added equalled those of Paradise. But to the surprise and irritation



of the visitors, they one and all declared, as if it had been agreed between them, that they loved and cherished their Prioress, that they had not the least desire to become acquainted with the Paradise proposed to them, and that they only asked to be left in peace, to live and die faithful to their vocation.

The visitors withdrew for the moment, but scarcely left the community in peace, for they took with them all the keys of the convent, even those of their cells, and made frequent descents upon them, hoping to find them in the act of disobeying the new laws. But in spite of the perpetual terror in which they lived, the nuns contrived to set up little portable altars in the cellars, and to assemble there and recite their Hours and the Rosary in secret.

Mother Ursula, moreover, managed to get a writing conveyed to the Knights of St. John, entreating them to find a secret way into the convent, there being a possibility of saying Mass at the far end of a cellar, accessible through a passage, the existence of which was unknown to their persecutors. After this, from time to time, a man dressed in the garb of a peasant or of a small shopkeeper might be seen entering the convent before dawn. He heard the nuns' confessions, exhorted them to persevere, and gave them absolution and communion. An old barrel served as a confessional. With these consolations they would have been well content, but Bucer had no intention of leaving matters as they were, though he had no suspicion of the hidden source of the nuns' strength and peace. He continued to incense the Senate to further action, and at length, yielding to his demands, they sent two Klosterherren to further harass and torment the community. This time they threatened that, unless the convent were evacuated without delay, the nuns would be expelled by force, for the Senate had decided to raze it to the ground, "with all suchlike rat-holes." They then departed, notifying that they would return in a few days, hoping to find the Sisters no longer enemies of their own happiness.

The Klosterherren were as good as their word, but when they returned, they held a somewhat different language. The country was agitated, and the chief magistrate, in his care and paternal love for the inmates of St. Margaret's, wished to protect them from the consequences of a possible rising among

the people. They were seriously advised to return to their families, and if they refused, and a catastrophe ensued, they would only have themselves to thank for it. Nothing, however, that the visitors could say had the least effect on the determination of these worthy daughters of St. Dominic. Some, indeed, broke out into sobs, while others declared that they were ready to suffer martyrdom rather than leave their convent, but all were resolved not to break their vows. The next day the Prioress gave them instructions how to act if she were separated from them.

If they were forced to quit their habit, they were to wear it at least in their hearts always, and remain faithful to it till death. They were never to do anything against the rule of their Order and the vows they had made. When they were held up to the scorn and ridicule of the crowd, they were to bear the insults they received for the love of their Lord, who had borne far worse for them.

She was prepared for the worst that could happen, but neglected no means that might possibly avert the dreaded blow, and wrote a petition to the Senate, as pathetic as it was wisely and prudently worded. In a few days the nuns were informed that the determination arrived at by the Senate was immutable, that the Sisters should not be forced to change their religion and to marry, but that it was absolutely required of them that they should reside for some time in their respective families. If afterwards any of them expressed a wish to forsake the world, the chief magistrate would give them a proof of his fatherly condescension in allowing them to join themselves to the public Penitents, on condition that they should replace their habit with a decent secular costume, should have no prioress or sub-prioress, and should submit to the form of government which the gentlemen of the town council would establish for them. In addition to this, they must piously listen to the "pure Word of God," which would be preached to them every day for the consolation of their souls, unless they preferred to assist at the services in the Cathedral.

In the course of the week they were ordered to send their effects home to their parents, and it was announced that the convent furniture would be divided among them. They answered by declaring unanimously, that if necessary they

would live in the extremest poverty, but that they would never consent to enrich themselves with the spoils of the convent. But their protest was disregarded, and their relations were instructed as to the manner in which they should treat them. They were to be extremely amiable to them, feed them abundantly and delicately, and to procure them all kinds of pleasures and amusements, and make them forget their convent ways.

"Do not be afraid," said one of the Klosterherren, "to spend a little money towards this object. The city will see that you are compensated out of the convent revenues; and when you go to fetch your daughters, sisters, nieces, and cousins, do not hesitate to force them to follow you if they should resist." \*

The order was carried out early in the morning of June 24. The Klosterherren arrived with a multitude of the nuns' relations, followed by their servants bringing horses and carts for the transport of the baggage. A scene ensued that beggars description. The remonstrances of Mother Ursula, her prayers, her tears, her rebukes, were laughed to scorn. The crowd burst into the interior of the convent, and in their wake the dregs of the populace, bent on pillage.

Thirty-three nuns, twenty-three of whom were professed, were dragged away. Their despair, coupled with the brutal expressions of joy of the "Pure Gospellers," the screams, the laughter, the coarse jests were like a vivid representation of the infernal regions. Mother Ursula remained, at the end of the day, alone with eleven of the more aged nuns, in the wrecked and ravished convent. Even their straw mattresses had been taken from them by order of the magistrates; the house was completely empty, even almost of food. But to lie on the hard boards, and often to feel the pangs of hunger, was not the worst of their sufferings. The struggle was renewed from time to time for a month, but the heroic women never once dreamed of leaving the field of battle. When again summoned at the end of that time to deliver up her house, the Prioress declared that, in default of other help, she would appeal to the Emperor. The threat took effect. Strassburg had still some interest in appeasing Charles V., already irritated by the conduct of the last few years. Ursula von Bock and her eleven remaining

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\* "Chronicle," pp. 166, 167, 170.

nuns were left, not indeed in peace, but in possession of the convent. They were forced to put on secular garments, but they wore the habit of St. Dominic beneath them. Nearly all the Sisters who had been dragged away, at the sack of the convent, petitioned to return at the end of their probation. Their supplication would have been treated with the same contempt and scorn as before had not the Prioress produced an Imperial Decree signed by Charles V. on November 14, 1530, confirming the franchise and the privileges of St. Margaret's convent. Thirteen professed nuns and three Sisters were therefore allowed to return to the fold. Four had already pined to death before the end of one year of exile; nine had died during the course of two years. Three only, in spite of all the threats, persuasions, and flatteries employed, apostatised and married. But the mourning for the fate of these three never ceased while the community lasted. For fifty years special prayers were offered daily that their souls might not be lost eternally, that the horrible circumstances in which they had been placed might lessen their guilt in the scales of Divine justice. The five remaining nuns were still detained forcibly by their relations for a time, but later on were allowed to re-enter the convent.

A mere shadow of toleration was granted to the newly-constituted community. They were forbidden to resume their habits, to take new subjects, to hear Mass, to re-establish their enclosure. Their garden, cloisters, refectory, and courtyard were open to the public. Only their cells remained private, and henceforth they seldom appeared out of them. They were obliged to assist regularly at the sermons preached in their denuded church, to the end that they might be instructed in the "true faith." But not one of them fell away. Thanks to the motherly care of their Prioress, none of the Sisters, except those who died during their exile, in spite of the iniquities by which they were surrounded, were deprived of the Sacraments on their death-beds.

When Ursula von Bock came herself to die, her relations, who had nearly all become Lutherans, made a last desperate effort to win her over to the new doctrines.

"I will be faithful," was all her reply in the weakness of death, "to the vows which I made at my profession in this

house. I have lived and I will die in the Catholic Apostolic and Roman faith."

The spirit of Ursula von Bock lived on for many years in the convent which she had so valiantly defended. When Strassburg was annexed to France by Louis XIV. in 1681, the nuns of St. Margaret's reaped in joy what they had so plentifully sown in tears. With gratitude and jubilation they sang the words *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus ; exultemus et lætemur in ea*. For about a hundred years longer they presented to the world the edifying spectacle of old, and it may be truly said of them that their light shone before men, till it was finally extinguished in the darkness of another revolution.

J. M. STONE.

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## ART. IV.—TOSCANELLI AND VESPUCCI.

1. *La Vita e i Tempi di Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli*. Da GUSTAVO UZIELLI. Roma: 1894.
2. *Amerigo Vespucci*. Da GIUSEPPE CONTI. Firenze: 1898.
3. *The Discovery of America*. By JOHN FISKE. London: Macmillan. 1892.

THE primacy assumed by the little Republic of the Val d'Arno in the intellectual movement of Europe during the seedtime of great ideas that followed the Middle Ages is nowhere more conspicuous than in the part played by its citizens in the discovery of America. An inland community shut out from the seaboard by a close ring of jealous rivals, the seething life overflowing the narrow circuit of its walls carried it nevertheless to the forefront of maritime adventure, and made it at once the Athens and the Tyre, the centre alike of speculative initiative and of commercial enterprise for the known world. It disputed with Venice the trade of the East, with Genoa that of the stormy seas beyond the Pillars of Hercules, with Pisa that of the coasts of the Mediterranean, as it did with Rome the intellectual supremacy of the Peninsula. While its Neo-Platonists sought to build up a new school of thought on the foundations of that of the past, its merchant-houses had branches in all the ports of the Levant, and sent emissaries along all the caravan tracks of Asia, its warehouses were stored with the silks and spices of the Indies, and its banks and counting-houses controlled the credit system of Europe. Trade became the handmaid of learning, and the gems that freighted the argosies of the East were out-priced by the manuscripts that travelled in their company. Each invoice formed a landmark in the revival of letters, and the perfume of culture was breathed with the dusty atmosphere of the ledger and bill of lading. Florence thus led the way in all departments of progress during the ages of whose spirit she was the embodiment, and the dual centenary celebrated by her

in April 1898 commemorates her share in the two stages of the great event forming its crowning achievement.

The heroic epoch of discovery directed to the East and West respectively had its precursors in two theorists and thinkers, whose prophetic vision schemed out in lonely meditation the outlines of the design to be filled up by the deeds of the men of action. As Prince Henry the Navigator, one of the "five great Infantes" born of Philippa of Lancaster, was the brain of Portuguese advance to the Indies by the one route, so was the Florentine cartographer, Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, that of the Spanish search for them by the other. The place of the latter as the prompter of transatlantic discovery, long obscured by circumstances, of which the decadence of his native Republic was chief, has been made abundantly clear by recent investigation, and the story of his work, after centuries of semi-oblivion, is now placed clearly before the world once more.

Signor Uzielli's monumental volume sets the life of Toscanelli in due historical perspective, against the background formed for it by the social and commercial activities of Florence in the fifteenth century. Born in the year 1397, he was a contemporary, though junior by eight years, of the crafty financier who stamped his mental impress so strongly on his native city that the title of father of his country has been not inaptly bestowed upon him. The transition period opened by the elder Cosmo, and closed by his still more illustrious grandson, during which the turbulent democracy was gradually moulded into a principality, covered the golden age of Florentine genius, when its exuberant vitality blossomed at once into literary and mercantile activity.

The branch of the Toscanelli family to which Paolo the physicist belonged derived its distinctive "dal Pozzo" from a public well near its houses in the quarter of Santo Spirito on the farther side of Arno. Science and commerce were united in the dealings of the firm, since its lucrative trade in the drugs and spices of the East was naturally associated with a knowledge of their use. The medical profession, hereditary in the family, was exercised not only by Paolo, but by his father Domenico, and his elder brother Piero. Together with the latter he pursued his study at the University of Padua, where he formed a lifelong friendship with Nicholas of Cues,



afterwards known as Cardinal Cusa from his birthplace near Treves. Although the Pythagorean philosophy was not without a following in Padua in those days, a prevailing school of thought was founded on the system of Averroes, a form of pantheistic naturalism according to which the universe was framed by a hierarchy of pre-existing eternal principles, linked together by a certain bond of moral but strictly impersonal unity. While such speculative futilities divided the schools into hostile camps, the chair of mathematics was held by Prosdócimo de' Beldomandi, who also professed astrology, then confounded with astronomy, and was doubtless Toscanelli's master in both departments of science. Certain it is that the latter returned to Florence, in about 1424, an accomplished geometrician, since he became the teacher of the architect Brunelleschi, whose friendship he gained, as Vasari narrates, through meeting him "at supper in a garden with some friends." The brilliant attainments of Toscanelli soon won him a place in that galaxy of illustrious writers and scholars whom the elder Cosmo gathered about him, with the ambition of placing Florence at the head of European culture. But the cabals and jealousies incident to a clique, however intellectually preminent, must have been repugnant to the tranquil student of the heavens and the earth. The spirit of this famous society is described by Guarino, who left it after two years' experience, in a letter written to Girolamo Giralaldi in Padua about 1420 :

Among whom [he says] there is such a craze, or rather greed for glory, not the true sort, but that which is only ephemeral and apparent, that in order to attain it they have no regard to the reputation of others, hence they praise no one save with half-hearted phrases, and always with the addition, "he is expected to do better in the future." If they hear any one extolled, they are displeased, they murmur, and as if the commendation of others were at their expense, they envy its object and assail its bestower. I do not call those friendships, but conspiracies.

From all the polemics and intrigues, whether literary or political, with which Florence was rife, Paolo dal Pozzo stood entirely aloof, supreme in a field of research in which he had no rival. He took part, indeed, in some of the celebrated symposia held in the Convent of the Angels under the presidency of Cosmo, but maintained, as we may well believe, an attitude of neutrality between the disputants in the wordy

battles fought out there. His life was, moreover, too busy a one to afford leisure for the tournament of tongues, since, apart from his more absorbing pursuits, he had much practical business to transact. His proficiency in a science termed by Kepler "the mad daughter of a wise mother," obtained for him the office of astrologer to the Signoria, or magistracy, with the duty of ascertaining the propitious hour for all public enterprises. So seriously were these auguries regarded, that a letter is extant addressed by the municipality to Lorenzo the Magnificent, during a campaign in 1478, advising him of the favourable moment for consigning the staff of command to Ercole d'Este, and warning him most earnestly on no account to anticipate it, as the omens for earlier dates were all sinister. Thus he was to permit the enemy to advance and ravage the territory of the Republic, rather than defy the menace of the skies in seeking to avert a real calamity. Toscanelli had, however, before the end of his life learned the futility of such prognostications, as he told a friend that they had been discredited in his own case by their failure to indicate his exceptional length of days. But his study of the stars was not limited to their aspect as arbiters of destiny, since he was not only fully versed in all the astronomical lore of his day, but considerably extended it by his own observations. A treatise on comets, preserved in the Magliabecchi Library, is the only surviving work of his pen, but it affords evidence of the skill with which he made use of the imperfect methods at his command. One of the six of these objects observed by him was the one subsequently known as Halley's Comet, because its periodicity was determined by that observer. Signor Celoria, in the separate treatise on Toscanelli as an astronomer included in Signor Uzielli's work, points out that though the larger stars among which the orbits are traced are those contained in the *Almagest*, the places of others down to the sixth magnitude noted with substantial accuracy must have been independently determined. Calculations of the precession of the equinoxes by the Florentine astronomer were an advance on those of Ibn Djunis, and by means of the Gnomon, for which he utilised the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, corrections were made in the Alphonsine Tables, and the solstitial points and variations of the ecliptic were ascertained.

Toscanelli's public duties as observer of the heavens did not interfere with the exercise of his medical skill on behalf of the poor. He accepted no remuneration, but, as a fervent Catholic, made the reception of the Sacraments by such of his patients as were in danger of death the sole condition of his attendance. His life, outside its scientific activities, was that of a prosperous Florentine burgher, as the head of a house combining what we should term a large wholesale trade with a considerable banking business. There existed in Florence in 1432, when he was in the prime of life, fifty-two such houses, formed by partnerships and associations among them into twenty-two firms or companies. The trade in drugs and spices included, in addition to the products specifically so described, almost all imported goods, and was carried on by general merchants. Its dealings included comestibles, such as olive oil, dried fruits, almonds, dates, pistachios, and pine seeds; dye stuffs, such as indigo, ochre, and ultramarine; industrial products, borax and alum, turpentine and alcohol, gums and incenses, coral, lead, sulphur, soaps, and cottons; as well as the medicines and perfumery, rhubarb, aloes, opium, and attar of roses; and the true spices, cloves, cinnamon, ginger, nutmegs, and above all pepper, more exclusively indicated by its title. The last-named product, from its rarity and great price, was valued as a flavouring far above its deserts, and was the universal condiment even with pastry. Venice long held the monopoly of its importation, and was its centre of distribution to the other countries of Europe. In addition to these heterogeneous commodities, the Toscanelli warehouses in the Via San Martino also housed more bulky packages of furs and skins, the latter cured in the tannery owned by the same firm in the Via degli Oricellari.

The position of Florence, an inland community doing a large foreign trade, was singular among the Italian republics, and much of her policy was directed to remedying her landlocked situation. Through the jealousy of Pisa, her natural maritime outlet at Porto Pisano, now silted up, was frequently closed to her, and at such times she obtained from Siena the free use of Talamone, her communications with the sea thus oscillating between the west and south. It was not until 1421 that she became a maritime Power, having then profited by the misfortunes of her neighbour to purchase from the

Genoese the two Tuscan ports of Leghorn and Porto Pisano which had fallen into their hands. By the appointment of Consoli del Mare a new office was then created, with full powers to construct arsenals, build galleys, and organise a naval service. Commercial privileges similar to those enjoyed by the Genoese were obtained at Constantinople, and equal advantages from the Soldan of Egypt. The period of commercial expansion that followed was coincident with the active life of Paolo dal Pozzo, and was shared by the fortunes of his house. Its branch at Pisa was managed by the elder brother, Piero, so that the conduct of the large concerns in Florence must have devolved upon the busy man of science, until his nephews were old enough to relieve him of part of the charge. He did not live to see the catastrophe of his country, involving that of his family, when in 1494, that year of woe for Italy, Charles VIII. descended from the Alps upon her fertile plains. He entered Pisa on September 8, at the very time when the grand-nephews of Paolo Toscanelli were engaged in the liquidation of the estate of their father, who had died a few days previously. The course of history rendered their labours superfluous, for on the ensuing day the Pisans rose in rebellion, tore down the Marzocco, and drove into exile all the Florentine merchants, including the Toscanelli brothers. So fell the flourishing house of dal Pozzo, within twelve years of the death of the great man who has made its name immortal.

His life was not circumscribed by the city walls, for many a rural property with villa and vineyard was available for the family villeggiatura. From that of Mosciano, which, from the slope of the Poggio al Pino above Scandicci, commands a spacious width of horizon, it is conjectured that he made many of his observations of the heavens. The geographical researches, on the other hand, which became the absorbing pursuit of his life, arose naturally out of his commercial undertakings, forming a tie with the Far East. It is on record that he made it his business to garner up all extant knowledge on the subject by interviewing and questioning such travellers as passed through Florence on their return from distant quarters of the globe. The great mediæval repertory of travel, the book of Ser Marco, he had at his fingers' ends, and this was supplemented by the tale of Niccolo de' Conti, a scarcely less adventurous

pilgrim. He, too, set forth from Venice in the year 1424, and passing through Arabia to Persia, and across India to Cambodia, spent a quarter of a century on this extended Eastern tour. Having for safety or convenience become a renegade to Mohammedanism, he hastened on his return to seek absolution from the Pope, Eugenius IV. The latter, having imposed on him by way of penance the narration of his adventures to Poggio Bracciolini, it was taken down from his lips, and forms one of the most valuable records of early Oriental travel.

Not less remarkable were the peregrinations of two Florentine wanderers, who left written narratives of them. The first of these, Francesco Pagolotti, a commercial traveller for the house of Bardi, began with a trip to London and Antwerp in 1315. We next find him in the employment of the ruler of Tunis as his private secretary, with sufficient influence to obtain valuable commercial rights for his compatriots, together with permission to build a church. Starting from the Levant in 1335, he traversed the whole of Asia, and has left minute particulars of his itinerary to Pekin and Hang-chow-fu, with many curious details of the Chinese Empire.

A strange fate befell the tale of another rover, Giovanni dei Marignolli, a Franciscan friar in the Convent of Santa Croce, and afterwards professor of theology in the University of Bologna. Despatched as a religious envoy to the Great Khan of Tartary by Benedict XII., he left Avignon in 1338, and reached Pekin in May or June 1342, having on his way founded a church in Tartary by the Sea of Aral, undeterred by the fact that four other Italian Franciscans had suffered death there for the attempt. In the same spirit of Christian daring, he presented himself in Pekin before the Emperor of China with the cross uplifted, and followed by a train of Christians singing the creed as they advanced. His courage roused the monarch's admiration, and during the years spent in his capital, he was treated with the greatest respect. Warned to return home by a different route in consequence of an outbreak of war in Mongolia, and furnished with an imperial escort which secured him a good reception in all the towns of China, he went by sea to Java, Malabar, and Ceylon. A temporary imprisonment in the hands of a Mohammedan

potentate here stayed his course for a time, but he then pursued it to Ormuz and Persia, Baghdad, Aleppo, and Damascus, crossed Palestine, touched at Cyprus, and returned to Avignon after fourteen years' absence. The Emperor Charles IV., whom he encountered in Rome, conferred many honours upon him, but imposed a task which he apparently found irksome, the compilation of a history of Bohemia. The work so entitled, duly deposited in the convent archives, was disinterred in 1738 by a scholar who wished to consult it, but, to his great surprise, found that it contained, instead of the supposed chronicle, the narrative of Fra Marignolli's Oriental experiences. Although the actual work so long unknown could not have been among the sources of Toscanelli's geographical lore, the information contained in it may well have been transmitted to him by the contemporaries and compatriots of the author.

Amongst other distinguished travellers interrogated by him was the Infante Pedro of Portugal, the handsomest and most accomplished prince of his time. Smitten, like his brother Henry the Navigator, with the passion for exploration, he made a prolonged tour in the East, rendered legendary in the Portuguese proverb, "*O Infante Pedro vio os sete partes do mundo.*" His transit through Florence was one of the many brilliant events of a brilliant age, and the "*Loyal Cavalier*" left behind him, there as elsewhere, the memory of a fascinating and richly endowed personality.

Ecclesiastical relations with distant lands furnished a store of geographical information peculiarly accessible to Italians, and gave glimpses of a transoceanic world that, if rightly interpreted, might have hastened the epoch of its discovery. Recent researches in the archives of the Vatican show that it was for centuries in touch with Greenland, and even with the North American continent, before those regions were recognised as within the sphere of commercial navigation. The great Arctic island and its dependencies, including the Vinland of the Norsemen, constituted the diocese of Gardar, at first suffragan to Hamburg, and after 1044 to Tondhjem. In 1112-13 Eiric Ipsi was appointed by Paschal II. Bishop of Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland, and while it is on record that he proceeded to this latter outlying portion of his diocese



in 1121, there is no mention of his return. Tithes were paid in kind, and in a Bull of Martin V. of 1282, together with such Arctic products as sealskins and whale's [walrus] teeth, buffalo, or ox hides, which must have come from the American continent, are also enumerated. From entries of tithes paid in 1327 is deduced the figure of 10,000 as the number of the Christians of Gardar, and the diocese in 1418 paid 2600 lbs. of walrus ivory by way of tithes and Peter's pence. It contained in the fourteenth century twelve parish churches, a cathedral, and a Dominican monastery, but its prosperity came to a calamitous end in 1418, owing to the ravages of a barbaric invasion from oversea, as appears from a letter written in 1448 by Nicholas V. to the Icelandic bishops. The Pope in this epistle speaks of "the pitiful lamentations of my dear children, who were born and live in the great island of Greenland, said to lie on the extreme confines of the ocean to the north of the kingdom of Norway, and in the province of Nidrosia." The invaders, described as "a fleet of barbarians from the adjoining coasts of the Pagans," destroyed many of the churches, and carried off numbers of the inhabitants into slavery. This catastrophe gave the death-blow to Christianity in Greenland, since for some unknown reason the Pope's desire that priests should be sent and bishops consecrated to supply for its spiritual desolation was never complied with. In a renewed appeal made by the Greenlanders to Innocent VIII., they represented that the religion of their fathers was almost forgotten, and its ritual reduced to the solemn exposition once a year of the corporal on which the last of their priests had consecrated the body of Christ. Innocent, conformably to their petition, appointed to the See of Gardar, Mathias, a Benedictine monk, who having received the Bull from Alexander VI., sailed for his destination. With the name of his successor, Vincentius, ends the list of the bishops of Gardar, covering a period of four centuries, from 1121 to 1537, and this remote fief of the Church was lost to it for ever, probably owing to the troublous times that came upon it with the Reformation. Its obscure history enters, however, into the sources of information which were gradually giving extension to the limits of the known world during the life of the Florentine physicist.



Geographical ideas must also have been rendered more concrete and familiar by the presence in Florence of a number of prelates from all parts of the East during the Council held there in 1439. The solemn high mass celebrated by Eugenius IV. in Santa Maria del Fiore on July 6 of that year must have been a spectacle full of stimulus to a mind busy with such problems as Toscanelli was perpetually revolving.

A lowlier point of contact with distant peoples and countries was furnished by domestic slavery, which caused the importation of many captives from the East, and more especially from the ports of the Crimea and Southern Russia. In the accounts interchanged between the Pisan and Florentine branches of the house of Toscanelli, Paolo registers the transfer of a female slave, valued only at fifteen florins, in consideration of her age and bad health. The forlorn human creature whose infirmities are here enumerated as a factor in her price, was, one would fain hope, more humanely treated than this bald business entry might lead one to infer.

The first rudimentary conception of a western hemisphere took shape in that fable with an intuition of truth, affirming the existence of strange and dim islands in the Western Ocean. The discovery during Toscanelli's lifetime of the various groups of Atlantids at once substantiated this antique tradition, and furnished a series of stepping-stones to the greater mystery that lay beyond. But of this momentous secret, neither Toscanelli, nor even he who penetrated without comprehending it, had even a presaging of divination. The connection between these two great men is that between the theorist and the executant, between the initiating mind and that which works out its conclusions in action. For to Toscanelli belongs the credit of having drawn from the sphericity of the earth the corollary that the extreme east might be reached by sailing west, a theory only falsified by the existence of the great unknown land mass interposing a barrier so unlooked for in the path of transoceanic navigation. The discovery of Santarem and Escobar in 1472 of the southward extension of Africa beyond the Gold Coast gave practical importance to this speculation by its demonstration of the hopelessness of finding a short maritime route to the Indies in this direction. Alfonso V. of Portugal accordingly applied to Toscanelli, through Fernando Martinez,

a member of his household and an intimate friend of the cosmographer, for information in regard to the alternative route which he was known to have suggested. He replied, in a letter dated June 25, 1474, accompanied by a sailing chart on which Cipango and Cathay were delineated on the other side of the Atlantic, with the islands of Antilia and St. Brandan halfway across. Columbus, who, shipwrecked on the coast of Portugal in that same year, made Lisbon his headquarters until 1484, had apparently heard of this letter without having seen it, and wrote, in his turn, to Toscanelli, asking for similar information. "Paul the physicist," as he terms himself, sent him in reply a copy of his letter to Martinez and a replica of his map, enclosed in a short prefatory note to Columbus, applauding his "noble and great design of passing thither where the spices grow." A copy of this momentous document in the original Latin was found in the handwriting of Columbus on the fly leaves of the "*Historia Rerum ubique gestarum*," of Aeneas Sylvius, now preserved in the Colombian Library at Seville. The letter to Martinez begins as follows:

To Ferdinando Martinez, canon of Lisbon, Paul the physicist, greeting: I heard with much pleasure of your intimacy with your most serene and magnificent king, and although I have on many other occasions spoken of the short route hence to the Indies where the spices grow, by the sea way, which I hold to be shorter than that which you pursue by Guinea, you tell me that his Highness desires from me some declaration or demonstration in order that that route may be understood and followed. Therefore, although I know that I could show him this with a globe in my hand, and make him see how the world is fashioned, I nevertheless have decided, for greater facility and intelligibility, to show the said route on a map like those drawn for navigation, and thus I send it to his Majesty drawn and designed by my hand, and on it is depicted all the extremity of the west, starting from Ireland to the south as far as Guinea, with all the islands that lie on this route; in front of which I have depicted the beginning of the Indies with all the islands and places you may arrive at; and how far you must depart from the Arctic Pole for the Equinoctial Line; and how much space, that is to say how many leagues, you must go to reach those fertile places with every sort of spices and gems and precious stones; and do not wonder that I call west the land where the spices grow, because whoso sails to the west will always find those places to the west, and those who go by land to the east, will always find those said places in the east.

The remainder of the letter is mainly descriptive of the

geography of Cipango and Cathay, as laid down in the works of Marco Polo and other Eastern travellers. The map herein enclosed to Columbus is again referred to in a second letter addressed to him by Toscanelli, in which the latter applauds his intention of attempting the route laid down on it, in a voyage which he appears to believe had been positively decided on by the Portuguese authorities. Yet the Florentine cosmographer, who was already in his seventy-seventh year when the correspondence began, did not live to see the fruits of his teaching garnered to the common storehouse of humanity, and the Genoese who was to put it to the proof, was but at the beginning of those years of heart-sickening hope deferred, intervening before that memorable start for the Indies which has inspired one of M. de Hérédia's finest sonnets in the sequence of "The Conquerors."

A flight of falcons from bare nest outsped,  
Wearied of proud privation—forth they poured  
From Palos captains and a wild sea-horde,  
Drunk with the fierce, heroic dream that led.

Yet while their sails to win the wealth were spread  
In fabled mines by dim Cipango stored,  
The steady trade-wind bent each yard-arm toward  
The western world's mysterious shores instead.

Of epic morns their evening reveries,  
While phosphorescent blue of tropic seas  
Entranced their sleep with a mirage of gold;

Or, leaning from the prows of their pale ships,  
In a new sky, from ocean depths uprolled,  
They watched new stars the olden lights eclipse.

This was exactly ten years after the death of Toscanelli, which took place on May 10, 1482. The Moses of the western exodus, he bequeathed to an Italian of a younger generation the task of leading thither where he had shown the way, and of putting into execution the idea evolved by him from long years of meditation and study. His life of eighty-five years was not only blameless, but ascetic. He slept little, eschewed all luxury in dress, and for many years lived as frugally as a Carthusian, neither tasting meat nor drinking wine. His charity was shown alike in works of active benevolence, and in the still rarer form of regard for his neighbour's reputation, for

in a city of evil tongues, it is recorded of him that "he was never heard to speak ill of any one." His exemplary character was the wonder of his contemporaries, as a striking exception in an age given over to the pursuit of pleasure. Yet in the clash of political passion and factious strife, the fame of the wise old spice-merchant who had made no claim on his own behalf soon lapsed into oblivion, and the man of thought was eclipsed by the man of action. Posterity has done justice to him after the lapse of four centuries, and the Geographical Congress held in Antwerp in 1871 acclaimed him as "the inspirer of the discovery of America."

The name of the younger compatriot associated with his in the festivities with which his native city commemorated the fifth centenary of his birth, required no such enhancement of the glory that has accrued to it, since by a strange series of errors and misconceptions, it has come to be inscribed in giant type across half the map of the globe. Yet, on the other hand, no reputation has been more fiercely assailed in history than that of the great navigator, whose real glory, that of having revealed to Europe the vast southerly extension of the western hemisphere, is almost forgotten in resentment at his supposed attempt to filch a glory to which he had no title. His name, too, has been cleared by modern research of the aspersions cast upon it, and his career stripped of many of the ambiguities that enshrouded it.

Amerigo Vespucci, born in Florence on March 18, 1454, belonged to a family second only to the reigning house in the ranks of the commercial aristocracy, the golden wasps forming whose cognisance were as well known throughout Asia Minor and the Levant as the Palle themselves. Its younger sons were usually sent to represent its interests abroad, and thus, while Amerigo's brother, Girolamo, had charge of its affairs in the East, he betook himself westward, and found himself in 1491 at Cadiz engaged in chartering and equipping vessels for trading voyages. Passing from Cadiz to Seville in 1495, he was there seized with the passion for adventure, probably in emulation of the glory of Columbus, then at its height.

I decided [he says in a letter written to Florence] to abandon commerce, and set my aim on a more praiseworthy and stable object,

that is to say, I disposed myself to go and see part of the world and its wonders.

Every degree of doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the voyage of Vespucci, from the absolute negation of the school who maintain him to have been a clever literary impostor and his travels as fictitious as those of Gulliver, to the partial scepticism of those who dispute their number and direction. Yet there is no more animated narrative of personal experiences in the records of adventure than the two celebrated letters addressed by him to friends in Florence, and containing the first descriptive account of the marvels of the New World. To his power of seizing the effective facts for narration, in a word to his literary faculty, is mainly due the reputation he has achieved, for while the name of the actual commander of the expeditions is scarcely remembered, they are associated pre-eminently with that of one who accompanied them as astronomer, cosmographer, or what may best be described as scientific navigator. The acrimonious polemic of which the four or six voyages of Vespucci have been the subject is due to the confusion wrought by seeking to interpret in the light of subsequent knowledge statements distorted by the fundamental misconceptions under which they were written. Mr. Fiske, after weighing exhaustively the evidence of contemporary documents, gives a clear and coherent view of the sequence of events. The first voyage, lasting from May 1497 to October 18 of the ensuing year, he transfers from the Pearl Coast, or Venezuelan shore, where it had been located owing to an error in transcription substituting Parias for Lariab, to the North American littoral between Yucatan and Cape Hatteras. This reading would give him precedence over Columbus by a few weeks in first setting foot on the mainland of the western hemisphere.

The second voyage, lasting from May 16, 1499, to June 1500, and consisting of an exploration of the coast of Brazil from somewhere near Cape Roque to Maracaibo, was much surpassed in interest by the third, between May 14, 1501, and September 7, 1502. For by this momentous expedition, not only was the whole littoral of Brazil skirted, the bays of Todos Santos and Rio Janeiro named, and the mouth of the Plate perhaps entered, but the southern parallels were run down as

far as latitude  $34^{\circ}$ , which the navigators, after leaving the coast and steering boldly south-east across the open sea, reached in South Georgia.

Among all the voyages made during that eventful period [writes Mr. Fiske] there was none that as a feat of navigation surpassed this third of Vespucci, and there was none except the first of Columbus that outranked it in historical importance. For it was not only a voyage into the remotest stretches of the Sea of Darkness, but it was pre-eminently an incursion into the antipodal world of the southern hemisphere.

He goes on to point out how from its accomplishment dawned the first glimmering idea of a new world, since the long coast line here laid down was obviously no part of the Indies supposed to have been reached by Columbus.

This extraordinary plunge into the unknown, with all the marvellous experiences attending it, the disappearance of the familiar constellations, the exuberance of tropical vegetation on the shores visited, the passage from the torrid to the south frigid zone with all the savagery of the Antarctic climate, all these novelties powerfully affected the lively imagination of Vespucci. Therefore in his letter to his friend, Lorenzo di Pier Francesco, grandson of his namesake the Magnificent, he describes these countries as a region "which it is proper to call a New World," and gives his reasons for doing so as follows:

Since among our ancestors there was no knowledge of them, and to all who hear of the affair it is most novel. For it transcends the ideas of the ancients; since most of them say that beyond the Equator to the south there is no continent, but only the ocean which they call Atlantic, and if any of them asserted the existence of a continent there, they found many reasons for refusing to consider it a habitable country. But this last voyage of mine has proved that this opinion of theirs was erroneous and in every way contrary to the facts, since in those southern regions I have found a continent more thickly inhabited than our Europe or Asia or Africa, and, moreover, a climate more temperate and agreeable than in any region known to us; as you will understand below when I write you briefly just the main points, and the most remarkable things that were seen or heard by me in this new world, as will appear below.

The Latin version of this letter, translated by the learned Dominican, Giovanni Giocondo, and published as a small four-leaved folio under the title "*Mundus Novus*," caused an immense



sensation, as was proved by the publication of eleven editions in Latin and eight in German. The vast land mass which here loomed up out of the fabled antipodal regions is represented on the maps of the first decade of the fifteenth century as a great island detached from Asia. On the globe of Orontius Finaeus in 1531, it is shown, on the other hand, attached to it by the Isthmus of Darien, drawn with approximate correctness, and with the name America written across the southern, while that of Asia still appears as that of the widely expanded northern continent. When it is borne in mind that this was subsequent to the conquest both of Mexico and Peru, as well as to the voyage of Magellan, we begin to realise how tenacious of life was the original error, still perpetuated by geographical nomenclature in the name of the "West Indies." The name America, first applied to the new southern continent by Martin Waldseemüller in a small treatise embodying Vespucci's second letter to Sodemini in 1507, makes its earliest appearance on a map in about 1514, when it is seen on one by Leonardo da Vinci as the name of a great island detached from all other lands. It is not until 1541 that the separate existence of the northern continent is recognised, though with much diminished extent, on Gerard Mercator's map, and here the name America is so printed as to cover both the great continents of the west. With the series of chances by which he thus came to stand sponsor for the New World, Amerigo himself had no connection, and the later idea that he deliberately supplanted Columbus in this matter of territorial designation is a fallacy based upon what Mr. Fiske calls "slavery to the modern map." So far was Columbus himself from entertaining such an idea, that in a letter to his son dated 1505 he speaks of Vespucci as one devoted to his interests, and eulogises him as a man of great uprightness, "to whom Fortune was adverse as to many others," since his labours "had not profited him as much as they should have done by right." Amerigo had before this date completed his fourth and last voyage in the service of Portugal, lasting from May 10, 1503, to June 18 of the following year. It consisted of a further exploration of the coast of South America, but added nothing to his previous discoveries. Having transferred his services to Spain in 1505, he repaired to Seville, and married a lady of that town of the name of Maria Cerezo.



His fifth and sixth voyages, from May to December 1505, and March to November 1507, made in conjunction with La Cosa in the service of Spain, were directed to explorations of the Isthmus of Darien in that search for a strait leading westward and which now furnished the enigma to be solved by navigation. The office of Pilot Major of Spain, the blue ribbon of the seas, conferred on him in 1508, he held until his death in Seville on February 22, 1512. The fact that his pension was continued to his wife's sister leads to the inference that he left no children.

Despite the efforts of a subsequent generation to asperse his name, there is evidence that he was held in high esteem by his contemporaries, and his probity is best avouched by the fact of his having lived and died poor, with such opportunities for surreptitious gain as were afforded by the management for years of the commercial affairs of two great houses, as well as of the naval equipment of Spain. Modern research has restored him to his proper place among the heroes of maritime discovery, and cleared his reputation from the slanders of history. The celebration of his centenary in Florence, together with that of Toscanelli in April 1898, gained added interest from the opportune discovery a few weeks before of his portrait in the lost fresco by Ghirlandajo in the church of Ognissanti. Long masked and hidden by a more modern picture hung in front of the space it adorned, it was believed to have perished, until the investigations of the Rev. Roberto Razzoli, one of the Franciscan Fathers of the church, led him to believe that it was still in existence. His conjecture was verified when, on the removal of the later work, a glorious group by the young Ghirlandajo was brought to light. Our Lady of Mercy shelters under the outstretched mantle twelve members of the Vespucci family by whom the chapel was erected, and among them kneels, with ardent look and features glowing with sensibility and intelligence, the boy who was to bequeath his name to a hemisphere. The subjoined sonnet has been suggested by the restored fresco with all the significance lent to it by the subsequent career of the great navigator whose fame has been, like it, so long eclipsed and so late disengaged from the envious veil obscuring it.

Amerigo! That upward gaze of thine  
Rapt with the vague expectance of a seer's  
On the fair Vision from celestial spheres,  
Seems all intent the future to divine.  
As though from Heaven itself, bold Florentine,  
To wrest the secret of the coming years,  
Thou fain wouldst question her who thus appears  
As the august Protectress of thy line.  
Is the known world too narrow even now  
For thee, predestined Pilot of Castile?  
And dost thou dream of days when thou shalt plough  
Unfurrowed gulfs with lone, adventurous keel?  
And steering south, beyond the Equator's girth,  
For ever write thy name on half the earth?

E. M. CLERKE.

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## ART. V.—THE LITURGICAL BOOKS OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

1. *Die göttlichen Liturgien unserer heiligen Väter Johannes Chrysostomos, Basilios des Grossen, und Gregorios Dialoges.* Von PROPST ALEXIOS V. MALTZEW. Berlin. 1890. (Slavonic and German.)
2. *Die Liturgien der Orthodox-Katholischen Kirche des Morgenlandes unter Berücksichtigung des bischöflichen Ritus nebst einer vergleichenden Betrachtung der hauptsächlichsten übrigen Liturgien des Orients und Occidents.* Von PROPST MALTZEW. Berlin. 1894. (Second edition of the preceding work, in German only.)
3. *Die Nachtwache oder Abend- und Morgengottesdienst der Orthodox-Katholischen Kirche des Morgenlandes.* Von PROPST MALTZEW. Berlin. 1892. (Slavonic and German.)
4. *Andachtsbuch (Kanonnik) der Orthodox-Katholischen Kirche des Morgenlandes.* Von PROPST MALTZEW. Berlin. 1895. (Slavonic and German.)
5. *Bitt-, Dank- und Weihe-Gottesdienste (Kniga Molebnoff) der Orthodox-Katholischen Kirche des Morgenlandes.* Von PROPST MALTZEW. Berlin. 1897. (Slavonic and German.)

**F**EW fields of theological study are at once so full of varied interest and so fruitful of results as that which deals with the Liturgy of the Church, and traces the origin and meaning of the prayers and rites used in the Holy Sacrifice, in the Divine Office, and in the administration of the sacraments. And though it has, naturally enough, attracted many a worthy labourer, its treasures have by no means been exhausted. For some time, indeed, it suffered somewhat from the excessive zeal with which men betook themselves to other branches of sacred study, such as the philosophical analysis of doctrine, or the lists of theological controversy, or the critical examination of the Holy Scriptures and the works of the early Fathers. But, how-

ever overshadowed by some of the sister sciences, it was never wholly neglected; and thanks to the labours of such masters as Martene, and Bona, and Renaudot, and Assemani, and other later writers who have followed in their train—*non passibus æquis*—it has come to claim something like its due share of attention. Yet it is likely enough that even those who have some acquaintance with the rich and rising literature on the subject of the Liturgy, are often far from grasping its full significance. It may sometimes be studied for some practical purpose, or sought as an armoury of controversial weapons, while much that lies beyond is left out of sight, or is visible only to those whose thoughts are wont to take a wider range. To these it may well appeal by the deep philosophy of its symbolism, and the poetic beauty wherein so much of heavenly truth is worthily clothed and embodied, and by the unity which is felt in the midst of its multitudinous variety.

At the same time, the Liturgy has attractions for the simple and unlettered. For let captious controversialists say what they will, the stately ceremonial of the Church, speaking to the senses now by gay garments of gladness, and lights, and music, and incense, now in solemn strains, or in silence and darkness, and altars stripped of their glory—is in very truth a language “understood of the people.” It is thus in one way open to all, something

not too bright or good  
For human nature's daily food.

But besides all that appears on the surface, there is much more that is only to be discerned by patient care and labour. For the liturgical books of the Church, in all the varying rites of East and West, are well worthy of true scientific study—a study which offers a curious and instructive counterpart to the labours of the biologist or physiologist. Here, as in the fields of natural science, the student may recognise the identity of structure in the midst of many minor variations. And perchance he may even see the working of a law of evolution, in the rise of various rites and uses and local customs. A prayer or sacred ceremony which is found in one place in rudimentary form may be highly developed in some other rite; and the full meaning of the one, or the origin of the other, may be clearly seen by comparing them together. Or, on the other hand, some

portion of the service may have been curtailed and abbreviated in the lapse of years, so that its meaning can only be learnt by the help of ancient liturgical documents, or from other rites which have preserved it in greater fulness.

But, apart from the light which they may thus lend to one another, each several form of the Liturgy is well worthy of study for its own sake. Each one of the various rites, it may be safely averred, has some special beauties of its own which are not found in the others in the same measure. Each one of them is, moreover, a living witness to the faith held by the flock by whom this rite is used. And often in default of organised pastoral instruction and theological training, the doctrinal language of the Liturgy is well-nigh the only means of handing on the tradition of truth, and the one available witness of its preservation. A special interest attaches to the liturgical documents still used by a little flock, such as that of the Copts, or Maronites, or Georgians—the remnant of an ancient race, who have held fast to their fathers' faith in a land of unbelievers. And an interest of another kind—rich in hopes for the future as well as in memories of the past—belongs to the rite which prevails among the teeming millions of the Church of Russia. Each light from this ancient Liturgy, each token of agreement in Catholic doctrine or devotion, is at once a witness to the antiquity and the truth of the doctrine in question, and a pledge for the possibility of future union. And even when such hopes wax faint in the presence of national pride or prejudice, we may at least be thankful to see how large a measure of truth has happily been preserved in the separated Eastern Churches, and how few, after all, are the points of divergence.

Such thoughts are naturally awakened by the books before us, a valuable addition to liturgical literature, for which we are beholden to Dr. Maltzew, the Russian Chaplain at Berlin. This learned writer's name is not unknown to English Catholic readers, for his authority has been cited on more than one occasion in the recent controversy on Anglican Orders and the Eucharistic Sacrifice—*e.g.*, in the *Vindication of the Bull Apostolicæ Curæ*, lately put forth by the Catholic Hierarchy of England. And a passage of arms between him and a German champion of the church—Canon Röhm—has been duly noticed

in the Catholic journals in this country. But it is probable that few English readers are aware of the magnitude and importance of the Russian writer's contribution to liturgical literature; and we cannot let his labours pass without becoming recognition in these pages. His work, which is nothing less than a collected edition of the chief books of the Greco-Russian Liturgy, edited with a German translation and notes and prefaces, is indeed too large to admit of any full or exhaustive criticism. But, though the series of liturgical volumes is not yet completed, it may be well worth our while to consider the ample matter for reflection already furnished in the earlier numbers. For both the Slavonic text and Dr. Maltzew's own handiwork throw some instructive light on the doctrine of the Eastern churches. Some of these lessons we may hope to lay before our readers, to whom some account of the main contents of the present series may not be unwelcome. And, despite the extent of the volumes before us, we shall by no means confine ourselves to the ground covered by Dr. Maltzew. Thus, at the outset before entering on the consideration of our author's work, it may be well to touch briefly on some general questions concerning the language of the Liturgy, and the history of the Russian Missal and Office-Books.

As no modern language of equal importance with Russian is so little known in England, the relation of the vernacular to the liturgical language, or Church Slavonic, is only too likely to be misapprehended. And the difficulty is certainly not lessened by the loose way in which the matter is treated by some eminent writers. Thus, an incautious reader might easily be led to suppose that there was little or no distinction between the two languages, when he reads such a passage as the following:—

What comparison can there be between this [*i.e.*, the Roman practice], and our solemn, or even our ordinary daily service, where really every word is intelligible in our native Slavonian tongue, and where the common people know by heart all the prayers and anthems, and repeat them after the clergy and choir?\*

But this eminent Russian is, we may suppose, speaking under

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\* "Catholic Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism," by Andrew N. Mouravieff, late Procurator to the Holy Governing Synod. Translated from the Russian in Dr. Neale's "Voices from the East," p. 48.

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some misapprehension as to the real state of affairs in Western Europe. And his invidious comparison between the two Churches certainly loses much of its force when once we come to examine the facts more closely. For on the one hand there is a very real distinction between the Church Slavonic of the Liturgy and the popular idiom, whether in Great, Little, or White Russia. And on the other hand, the language of our own Liturgy is very generally understood among the educated classes; while in the case of the Latin races, at any rate, it bears a close resemblance to the vernacular, and many of the words may be "understood of the people" without the aid of much mental culture. Moreover, the large Latin element of our own English vocabulary, especially in words of theological import, can hardly fail to have the same effect in this country. And when we add to this the help afforded by our Vesper Books and Missals for the Laity, where Latin prayers and hymns are accompanied by vernacular versions, we cannot say unreservedly that our worship is conducted in an unknown language. If, as may well be the case, the uninstructed Russian peasant has an advantage in this respect over the less cultivated members of our congregations, it is, after all, a question of degree.

Rightly understood, the Eastern practice in this matter is much the same as our own; and is, doubtless, dictated by the same principles. There is happily no need to revive the well-worn controversy on the celebration of the Liturgy in a language other than the vernacular; and we may dispense with any rehearsal of the familiar arguments by which the Catholic custom is abundantly justified. But we may venture to observe that there is some reason to fear that the exaggerated claims made by Protestant controversialists in behalf of the vernacular have driven some of our own champions into the opposite extreme. And this disturbing influence of theological polemics has even affected the serener minds of writers on the Liturgy. Certainly, some of them seem to attach an exaggerated importance to the advantage arising from a difference between the language used in the Liturgy and the common speech of the people; or from the unity of church language and ritual amid the many-voiced multitude of nations.

This is sometimes shown by a tendency to restrict the



number of liturgical languages. Thus, that excellent writer Dom Guéranger enlarges on the peculiar privilege belonging to the three sacred tongues, Syriac, Greek and Latin. And he evidently regrets the subsequent addition of some other idioms to this mystic number. He reminds us that the extension of the Coptic Rite in Egypt favoured the spread of monophysitism, that the Abyssinian Church has been plunged in the same error for twelve centuries, and the Armenians fared no better when they forsook the sacred Syriac for their national language.\* He describes the admission of the Slavonic Rite by John VIII. as a "disastrous concession" (p. 112). And he scouts the notion that the early Church made use of more than three liturgical languages. This last question is involved in some obscurity, and it is hardly possible to settle it one way or the other. But it is somewhat curious that among the writers who decide dogmatically that only three tongues were allowed in the liturgy by the church of the first three centuries, some betray an imperfect acquaintance with the number admitted in the nineteenth.†

Thus we may find them asserting that the Slavonic language was added to the list "seventh and lastly;" or telling their readers that the liturgical language and the vernacular are nowhere identical. Yet if we turn to such an authentic work as the "*Missiones Catholicæ*" printed at the Propaganda Press, we are furnished with a list of Sees in the Austrian Empire using the *Ritus Græco-Rumenus*, concerning which it is said plainly "*Lingua vernacula et liturgica est Rumena*" (pp. 568-569-570, ed. 1891). At the present moment we may count some ten liturgical languages—if not more—and nine of these are used by churches in union with the Holy See.

These favoured languages contain representatives of several of the most important families of human speech. Five of them belong to the Indo-European group, to wit: Greek, Latin, Armenian, Slavonic, and Roumanian. The so-called Hamitic

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\* "*Institutiones Liturgicæ*," vol. iii. p. 93, *cf.* p. 144, where he says of the Coptic, Ethiopic, and Armenian: "Elles ont été fatales peut-être aux chrétientés qui s'en servent à l'autel; mais, après tout, on n'en doit accuser que la malice des hommes."

† "Après la lettre de ce Pape Jean VIII. à Svatopulk, l'Eglise compta une langue liturgique de plus; ce fut la septième, et probablement la dernière," *l.c.*

tongues are represented by the Coptic, and the Caucasian family by the Georgian. But as this last, for the present at least, appears to be confined to a little flock which is still unhappily in schism, its claim to rank with the others is somewhat doubtful. With this reserve, we may still mention it here; as it would, no doubt, be duly recognised in the event of the reconciliation of the Georgians with the Catholic Church. Of the Semitic languages, we have the Syriac, and the Gheez or Ethiopic of Abyssinia; and to these we may now add the Arabic, for which so many of the Melchites have abandoned their original Greek or Syriac. In the aforesaid "*Missiones Catholicae*," the claims of Arabic are not noticed. For, whereas in the case of the other Eastern Rites we are told both the vernacular and the liturgical language, when we come to the Melchite Sees, we merely read "*Lingua vulgaris est Arabica*." Some writers seem to regard it as holding an ancillary position. And it is certainly so used among the Copts, and in some Syrian Churches, for the Rubrics, or for the needful explanation of the liturgical text, or for reading some part of the service to the people—*e.g.*, the gospel, a practice which is somewhat like our own custom of reading it in English after it has been sung in Latin. But when we look at the Arabic Office Book used by the Uniat Melchites, or the large euchologium in the same idiom which was printed for their benefit at Jerusalem in 1865, we cannot well deny the right of Arabic to be reckoned a liturgical language.

And here we have a curious instance of an idiom which is still the vernacular being used for liturgical purposes. As we have already seen, this is also the case with the Roumanian tongue, which has supplanted the Church Slavonic, both among the Uniates and the separated Christians of the Moldo-Wallachian race. This language, we may mention, is plainly of Latin origin, but the influence of the neighbouring Slavonic dialects may be traced in its vocabulary. For example, in the words, "*Parinte, Fiule si Duhule Sancte*," addressed to the Blessed Trinity, any one acquainted with Latin would easily understand all but that which stands for "Spirit," and this, however strangely it sounds in Western ears, would be readily recognised by a Bulgarian or Russian reader.

But if we may judge by general experience, these isolated

instances of complete agreement between the liturgical language and the vernacular are not likely to prove enduring. For from the earliest ages the Church has always begun by taking a living language for her Liturgy, and yet, in east and west alike, the tongue thus adopted has sooner or later passed out of general use. Had she been really actuated by the narrow rigid policy which some would fain ascribe to her, we should have had no Latin Liturgy. On the other hand, if each several nation admitted to the fold had been allowed the use of its own language, or if the Liturgy had been modified with each successive change of the national speech, the unity and historic continuity of Catholic worship would have been obscured or impaired for the sake of a doubtful advantage. But the policy really followed by the Church has avoided both evils alike. The Christians of the East were provided with a Liturgy in the musical and majestic language of Greece, and those of the West in the vigorous and conquering speech of Rome; and these two remaining unchanged were a lasting link with the past, while they were readily intelligible to the rising modern races, whose mother tongue was in most instances akin to the two classic languages, and whose minds were formed on Greek or Roman culture. At the same time the great Eastern churches, where Greek was not spoken, were soon allowed the use of their own classic tongues. These in their turn have become fixed like the Greek and Latin, and in some cases bear much the same relation to the modern vernacular, as that which subsists between Greek and Romaic, or between Latin and Italian.

Among these nine or ten liturgical languages, the Church Slavonic holds a singular and important position. Its first adoption in the ninth century by the brother Apostles of Bulgaria SS. Cyril and Methodius gave rise to considerable opposition. This was scarcely surprising, for it might well have seemed a needless exception to what had then become the general custom of the church. While Celts and Germans had been content to adopt the Latin Liturgy, why should the Slavs find special favour? But the Pope of the day was wiser than his critics, and gave his sanction to the new version which was destined to become the main instrument of religious worship and teaching for millions of kindred race beyond the range of Latin influence. By far the youngest of the more important

liturgical languages, the Church Slavonic is now next to the Latin in its extension, for the Russian Christians already outnumber all the other Eastern Churches. It is likely enough that both absolutely and relatively, its position will be yet further improved with the continued expansion of the Muscovite Empire. And should the hopes now felt and the prayers now offered up find fulfilment hereafter, and the separated Eastern Churches return to union with the centre of Christendom, there can be little doubt that the Slavonic Liturgy will have a noble future before it. Spreading further afield among the converted races of Asiatic Russia, it may become the chosen channel of Divine worship for a very considerable portion of the Church Catholic.

Were it only for this reason, it is a satisfaction to know that this same Slavonic idiom is in every way very well suited for the office of a liturgical language. If we ask ourselves what qualities are needed to fit any form of speech for this sacred purpose, we shall probably find that there are three main conditions. Why is the Latin clearly the best liturgical language for the Western nations? Mainly, we take it, for the following reasons: (1) Its natural genius fits it for accurate expression of doctrine, and for the solemn majesty of Divine worship. (2) Its permanent character serves to safeguard and manifest the historic continuity of doctrine and worship. (3) Its relation to most of the European languages makes it readily intelligible for all who wish to learn it, if not for all the people. The first of these conditions might be fulfilled by more than one modern language; the first and the second by Greek and Syriac, or other ancient Eastern idioms. But Latin, and Latin alone, fulfils all the three for the Western nations. Much the same may be said of the Church Slavonic within its proper sphere of influence. Rich, sonorous, and flexible in its structure, it is admirably adapted both for the accurate expression of doctrine, and for the due dignity of Divine worship. It has long since acquired the fixity of a classic language, and while differing from the fluctuating vernacular idioms, its meaning is within ready reach of all those whose mother tongue is any Slavonic dialect.

There is no need to linger on the vexed question of nomenclature. Whether it be more properly styled Old Slavonian,

or old Bulgarian, or Church Slavonic, it is enough for us to know that it was originally the Slav dialect used by St. Cyril in the ninth century in his famous version of the Scriptures and the Liturgy. And, despite some inevitable modifications, it has still preserved its identity through the course of ages for more than a thousand years. To convey to English readers an accurate conception of the points of agreement between Russian and Church Slavonic, and the differences which divide them, is by no means easy. For there are probably no two languages elsewhere which stand in precisely the same relation. The Slavonic tongues generally are marked by a strong family likeness, and in the present case this has been increased by the mutual influence which Russian and Church Slavonic have had on each other. If our own Church language has introduced a considerable Latin element even into German and Celtic vocabularies; it is not surprising that the kindred Church Slavonic should have a like marked influence on the Russian, more especially the literary Russian. For the Church language was long used instead of the vernacular for laws and letters, even as Latin was in Western Europe. And on the other hand, as later Church Latin shows some traces of the mother tongue of those who wrote it; so do we find signs of Russian influence in the later forms of the ecclesiastical language.

As a visible proof of the close union of the two tongues, we may point to the great dictionary of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, which is a dictionary not of the Russian simply, but of the Russian and Church Slavonic languages.\*

But in spite of all this, the two languages are really distinct; and a knowledge of the one does not necessarily enable us to understand the other. Thus, we frequently find Russian editors of Slavonic texts providing their readers with a vernacular version. And if the aforesaid dictionary shows us the two tongues in union, Perevlesski's Slavonic Grammar, issued from the Press of the same Academy of Science, brings out very forcibly the fact that they are by no means identical. This writer lays great stress on the importance of studying the Church language, which, with Vostokoff, he distinguishes into three periods. He is so far from identifying it with the

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\* Not, as it is observed, a dictionary of the one language in the other, but of the two together, like the ordinary Hebrew and Chaldee lexicon.

vernacular, that he says plainly that among the many millions of the Slav race, not one nation is now found speaking this idiom. Hence, he concludes, the Slavonic is now a dead language.\* It may, indeed, be questioned whether this invidious term can in strictness be applied to an idiom consecrated to the sacred Liturgy. For, as that eminent linguist, Prince Lucien Bonaparte once remarked to the present writer, a language which is still used in man's daily intercourse with God is never a dead language.

The last of the three historic stages in Church Slavonic is the form in which the language is found in the printed Liturgical Books, especially since the revised editions of the seventeenth century. To readers who are acquainted with Russian Church history, the mere mention of the corrected version of the Liturgical Books will recall some painful scenes of fanaticism and persecution, which might almost make one fancy that the Rubrics of the Russian Ritual were red with blood. In the long record of religious strife and persecution, there are few pages more strange and startling than those which tell the story of the Russian Raskolniks, or Dissenters. There have been some other controversies on matters of ritual and ceremonies, not altogether free from violence—as some recent occurrences in England are enough to remind us. And there have unhappily been too many cases in which the heavy hand of the State has fallen on religious zealots with a like relentless rigour. But, in most instances, there has been some profound difference of principle between the two parties, and the victims of State persecution have either advocated, or resisted, some grave change in the national religion. But the revision of the Ritual, resisted by the martyrs of the Solovetsky and the other champions of the old Office Books, was not, as they clearly supposed, a like dangerous innovation. It was but a harmless necessary correction of the Slavonic text, bringing the printed books into a closer agreement with the early manuscripts, and with the Greek originals.†

It is a remarkable fact that in spite of all this persecution,

\* "Sledovatelno Slavianskii iazik est iazik mertvii, a ne zhivoi," p. 1.

† For an account of the schism of the Starobratsi, or Primitive Ritualists, and the sufferings of the monks of the Solovetsky, see the Appendix to the second volume of the late Mr. William Palmer's monumental work on "The Patriarch and the Tsar," pp. 417-459.



and in spite of the great power of the State Church, this division has endured to the present day. And the sect which rejects the revised, or as they consider them, corrupted Office Books, has a strong following in Russia. It is likely enough that their numbers would be largely increased if the government of the Tsar were to grant his subjects full liberty in religion. Indeed, one Russian writer goes so far as to say that in that event, half the peasants would join the Raskol, and half the great ladies would become Catholics.\*

As is the case with most Eastern Churches, the Russian Office and Mass are more lengthy, and the service books somewhat more numerous than those of the Latin Liturgy. Our own Breviary, as the name might imply, gives us in a compendious form, matter which was once scattered through various larger volumes. And in many respects the present condition of the Ritual books of the Eastern Churches corresponds with an earlier stage of Latin liturgical literature. It is, then, by no means surprising that at least in one instance, that of the Uniat Copts, the advisability of some abridgment of the long Oriental Office has been urged at Rome. It is interesting to recall the fact that an English Prelate, the late Cardinal Howard, who had to give his opinion on this matter, made it the occasion of a valuable and instructive comparison of the various Eastern forms of the Divine Office.†

In his notice of the Greek Office, the reader will find a long list of the Liturgical Books used in the Greco-Russian Church, some sixteen in all. Of these the most important is the Greek Euchologium, which is represented by the Slavonic *Sluzhebnik* or Missal, or in its larger form which contains the rites for the administration of the other Sacraments, and many lesser sacred prayers and ceremonies, by the *Trebnik*, or Russian Ritual. Besides this it will be enough to mention the *Horologium*, or Book of Hours, in Slavonic *Tchazoslov*; the *Kanonnik*, answering to the Greek *Triodion*; and the voluminous *Menaia*, containing the Offices for the Saints.

The main contents of all these numerous service books of

\* The historian Pogodine, as quoted by J. S. Aksakoff, in the fourth vol. of his collected writings, p. 91.

† Cf. Voto di Monsignor Howard sull' abbreviazione dell' Ufficio divino pel Clero del Rito Copto.



the Eastern Church are set before us in the present series of volumes issued by Dr. Maltzew, beginning, fitly enough, with the most important act of Divine worship, the Liturgy properly so called. This task, as the author tells us in the first edition of his opening volume, was originally undertaken for the benefit of the flock immediately under his care as Russian Chaplain at Berlin. And we may well believe that it has done much to make them understand and appreciate their ancient liturgy. But the work was something too important to be confined to this somewhat narrow circle, and the author soon found himself addressing a wider audience, and displaying the treasures of the Eastern liturgy to Western readers.

The mere task of editing the text must have been no light labour. For the whole has been clearly and accurately printed in modern Russian type instead of the old Church Slavonic character, and the abbreviations which are so abundant in both manuscript and printed Liturgies have wholly disappeared. It must not be supposed from this that the Church books are usually printed in an alphabet unintelligible to the general reader. This is the case with the Georgian liturgical letters, which have but a very remote relation to the characters in common use. Here, on the contrary, the difference is much the same as that which divides our own black-letter books from the clearer print and fuller spelling of the more modern missals.

Side by side with this full presentment of the Slavonic text in Russian type, Dr. Maltzew has given us a German version based on the Greek original. The care with which this task of translation has been executed may be gathered from the writer's own remarks on the question of rendering certain terms of the Greek or Slavonic which seemed to have no natural equivalent in German. He is evidently anxious to make his version idiomatic, and takes care to find some native authority for the use of words which might be deemed new-fangled or barbarous. Thus, with regard to the Greek *Αειπάρθενος* which the Slavonic, like the original, expresses in one word, *Prismodeva*, "Ever Virgin." Dr. Maltzew at first shrank from using the German "Immerjungfrau," though aware of the fact that it is found in Herder's poems. Hence, in his first volume he translates it, "beständige Jungfrau." This being in some danger of losing its meaning by coalescing with the conjunction

"und," which very frequently precedes it, was afterwards altered to "immerwährende Jungfrau."\* But in the later edition of the first volume, fortified by the authority of Grimm and Herder, he has finally adopted the convenient, "immerjungfrau."†

Needless to say, a large part of the liturgical text is made up of passages from Holy Scripture, and this might have considerably lightened the labours of the translator. But Dr. Maltzew has not adopted the convenient course of taking some existing German Bible and transferring long portions thereof into his pages. He has, indeed, made some use of Luther's version, and of Allioli's Catholic Bible in Latin and German. But he has based his translation of the Psalms on the Hebrew original, appending in footnotes the chief variations of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Slavonic version. It is interesting to see that in most cases these three translations are in unison; while in some instances the Vulgate and the Slavonic, though differing from the Septuagint, agree with one another.

This task of selecting and translating all the more important portions of the Slavonic Mass and Offices, and setting them forth with the needful notes and prefaces, certainly demanded no little courage and perseverance. And when we remember the many interesting questions concerning the history, or the meaning of the various rites, and the theological importance of many of the prayers and sacred ceremonies, we cannot well wonder that the author has found the work grow under his hands till it has reached a magnitude which might well have daunted him at the outset. Thus, in the preface to the second number of the series, "*Die Nachtwache*," published in 1890, he speaks of treating the rest of the Offices and the Administration of the Sacraments in two further numbers. Some six goodly volumes have already seen the light, but we have not yet seen the end of the series. In addition to the four numbers named at the head of this article, the fifth and sixth volumes, dealing with the Sacraments, the Burial Service, and other rites, have lately been issued from the press. But these, have already

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\* See the second volume of the series, "*Die Nachtwache*," pp. xviii.-xx.

† "*Die Liturgien*, u.s.w." p. iv.

been noticed and need not concern us here in these pages.\* The seventh and last volume, as now arranged, is to be devoted to the Menologium. But we shall not be much surprised if the abundant material contained in that part of the Eastern liturgies should eventually lead to some further increase in the length of Dr. Maltzew's series.

The additional matter which has helped to swell the size of three of the volumes now before us is by no means the least valuable portion of our author's labours. Without being needlessly diffuse, or going too far afield, he has given a fairly full account of the order observed in the Russian office and liturgy, and of the origin and meaning of the chief ceremonies, illustrating and supporting his comments by a comparison with analogous prayers or ceremonies in the Western liturgy or in those of the other Eastern Churches, such as the Coptic and Armenian. Nor does he limit his view to Christian communions. When occasion serves, Jewish rites, or even those of the ancient heathens, Egyptians or Accadians, are made to throw some light on various liturgical ceremonies. This is, doubtless, a course that needs no little care and caution. And some, perchance, might be apt to take offence at this bold comparison of Christian and Pagan ritual. But it must be remembered that, with all their errors and imperfections, with all their idolatry and deeds of darkness, these same Pagan rites and beliefs contain some elements of truth—portions of natural religion, or maybe some faint and faded fragments of primitive revelation.†

In some cases, though on a lower level than the Jewish rites, they may be regarded as in some sense figures foreshadowing the Christian worship. And even when they are of purely human origin, they may at least serve to show how religious symbolism is natural to man, and to witness to the special fitness of some of the Christian rites and sacred ceremonies.

Dr. Maltzew's first volume containing the liturgies has already reached a second edition, in which he has taken occasion to make some considerable changes. The instructive

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\* Cf. DUBLIN REVIEW, vol. cxxiii. p. 402.

† On this interesting question, see the important monograph of Dr. E. L. Fischer, "Heidenthum und Offenbarung."

comparison of the Russian with the Western, and with other Eastern rites, was first introduced in the second volume, and it is now with great advantage extended to the most important part of the liturgical series. But while the volume thus gains by the addition of a comparative survey of the various rites of the East and West; its size is greatly reduced by the omission of all the Slavonic text, and the prayers and hymns are now given in German only. The author had found by experience that the translation had been more used than the original, and thought that he might consult the convenience of a large circle of readers if he lightened the book by this omission. We may suppose that the same plan will be adopted later on in the case of the other volumes, though the series is first being duly completed in the original bilingual form. Possibly the same motives of convenience which led to the issue in German alone may suggest the advisability of printing the Slavonic text apart, with the notes and prefatory dissertations in Russian for the benefit of Russian readers.

The general contents of the volumes before us may be best described by comparing them with a similar series of Latin liturgical books comprising the Missal, the Breviary, and the *Rituale Romanum*, accompanied by needful notes and vernacular versions. It is pretty nearly in this order, though with some slight modifications, that the various portions of the offices appear in Dr. Maltzew's series. The first volume, which contains the Liturgy itself, clearly corresponds with the Missal; while the second and third, being filled by the Night Office and the Canons, answer to the Roman Breviary. But some parts of the Divine Office must be sought elsewhere. By reason of their close connection with the Holy Sacrifice, the Third and Sixth Hours, or Terce and Sext, are given in the first volume along with the Liturgies, with which Prime and None are likewise joined in the later edition.\* Another of the office books, the Menologion or Martyrology, is relegated to the end of the series, thus coming after the fourth and fifth volumes which are devoted to the main contents of the Trebnik, or

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\* In the West, also, these hours are often associated with the Mass so as to form therewith practically one continuous service. Thus, the bishop's vesting for solemn Pontifical Mass is combined with the recitation of Terce. Cf. "*Caeremoniale Episcoporum*," lib. ii. c. 8.

Ritual. There is, further, a difference between the relative position of these two volumes, and that of the corresponding parts of the *Rituale Romanum*. For in the latter work the Sacraments hold the foremost place, and are followed by the various minor rites or Sacramentals. Here, on the contrary, Dr. Maltzew's fourth volume contains these lesser ceremonies, taken partly from the *Trebnik* and partly from the *Kniga Molebnich Pienii*, while the fifth, as we have seen, is reserved for the Sacraments.

It would be a pleasing task to follow our author, step by step, through this fair and fruitful field, and dwell on the multitudinous and varied beauties of the Russian rite, comparing or contrasting it with our own majestic Latin Liturgy. But the subject is obviously something too large to admit of any such detailed examination in these pages. And we must fain confine our attention to a few salient passages in the Russian Office or Liturgy which are worthy of note, either for their intrinsic interest or their historic associations, or because they lend support to such doctrines or devotions as are disputed or assailed by our non-Catholic countrymen. Fortunately for our purpose it so happens that those portions which have this doctrinal value are among the most striking and distinctive features of the Greco-Russian and other Eastern Liturgies.

Even within these limits, the material is so abundant that it will only be possible to mention a few of the more prominent passages, while many others of like interest and importance must needs remain unnoticed. This is especially the case with such portions as bear witness to the great central truth which is the foundation of the whole Liturgy—the doctrine of the Real Presence and Transubstantiation. For it may be truly said that it is not merely any words uttered in this or that passage, but rather the whole fabric of the Liturgy that testifies in unmistakable fashion to the truth of that great doctrine. The subtle nicety of scholastic phraseology has given a clear and definite expression to the Catholic teaching on this subject. And whatever may be the case with communions, whose formularies are more elastic or ambiguous, there can be no doubt as to the nature of the doctrine set forth in the Tridentine definition, and accepted by all loyal Catholics. But in the voice of prayer and in the language of the Liturgy, this faith has found

another channel of expression not less clear and forcible than the words of authentic definition or formal profession. It might even seem easier to explain away the most peremptory dogmatic definition, than to miss the meaning of the prayers and sacred ceremonies wherein the Christians of East and West alike proclaim in one voice their belief in the real presence of the Divine victim offered on their altars in bloodless sacrifice. And it is worthy of note that the Greco-Russian rite speaks of that presence as resulting from a change wrought by the Divine power. After saying the words of Institution and Consecration, the priest blesses the sacred elements, praying to God to make them into the Precious Body and Blood of Christ; and in the Liturgy of St. John Chrysoston, which is most frequently used in the Eastern Church, he adds the words, "Changing them by Thy Holy Spirit."\* But the full force of these words is best felt when they are read in the light of the accompanying prayers and ceremonies, or the language used in the thanksgiving after communion.†

This practical proof is, moreover, supported by the formal profession of the Eastern belief in regard to the Holy Eucharist, as it is set forth in the letter sent by the Greek Patriarchs to the Anglican Bishops in 1723. A long extract from this important document is given by Dr. Maltzew in his volume of liturgies.‡ Elsewhere in his work he notices the recent argument of two Anglican theologians that the Russian Church had not accepted the full Roman doctrine of this letter, because its philosophical terminology is omitted or modified in the official Slavonic version. But as the author observes, this is sufficiently refuted by the fact that the Holy Synod also publishes the Greek text of the letter containing the very words which it is supposed to have rejected. The authorities of the Russian Church, he adds, had no power to make any departure from the teaching laid down in the official confessions of the whole Orthodox Eastern Church. Such a departure would be nothing

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\* "Prelozhiff Duchom Sviatom Tvoim." *Μεταβαλὼν τὸ πνεῦματι σου τὸ ἅγιον.* "Die Liturgien," u.s.w., p. 226, or in German edition, p. 90. On the position of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, in the Greek Liturgy, cf. Orsi's valuable dissertation, "De Sancti Spiritus Invocatione Liturgica."

† For these see the German edition of the "Liturgies," p. 182.

‡ German edition, pp. 219-221.



less than heresy.\* In the same place Dr. Maltzew shows how the position recently taken by an Old Catholic writer is destructive of the true ideal of the Catholic Church.†

There is another point of doctrine and devotion which receives a very special illustration and support from the treasures of the Greco-Russian liturgies and offices—to wit, the place which our Blessed Lady holds in the dogmatic system, and in the spiritual life of the Church Catholic. The reader has only to glance at the books before us, and note the large number of offices, prayers, and hymns in praise of the Virgin Mother, in order to form some notion of the nature and extent of Eastern devotion to our Blessed Lady. And a closer consideration of these prayers and of their position in the liturgy only serves to strengthen this impression. The prominence of the place held by Mary is especially seen in one of the most important and distinctive features of the Eastern Office, its large and elaborate system of of hymnology.

From the very earliest days the singing of hymns has been conspicuous in the Catholic liturgy; and it is one of the things mentioned by Pliny in his famous account of the Christians. Our own Roman Office has a goodly number of hymns which are often, especially the earlier hymns, remarkable for their beauty and depth of feeling. But the sacred songs of the Eastern Church have grown to a greater length, and exhibit a somewhat more complex structure, though the metre itself is simpler than that of many hymns in the Roman Breviary. A few words on the arrangement and contents of the Greek "Canons" will be enough to show the marked difference between Eastern and Western hymnology.

Each Canon is a sequence of several odes, or shorter hymns. The normal number is nine, corresponding in chronological order with the Canticles found in Holy Scripture. Thus, the first ode of a Canon answers to the first Cantic of Moses," "Cantemus Domino," Exodus xv. 1; the second to his Cantic, "Audite Caeli," Deuteronomy xxxii. 1; the third to the song of Anna, "Exultavit cor meum," I. Kings, ii. 1; the fourth to the prayer of the prophet Habacuc, "Domine audi," Hab. iii. 2;

\* See the fourth volume of the series: "Bitt-Dank- und Weihe-Gottesdienste," pp. ci.-cii.

† L.c. p. civ.



the fifth to the Canticle of Isaias, "Urbs fortitudinis," Isaias xxvi. 1 (with special reference to the ninth verse), "Anima mea desideravit te in nocte"; the sixth to the prayer of Jonas in the whale, "Clamavi," Jonas ii. 3; the seventh and eighth answer to the Canticles of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace, *i.e.*, the former to the prayer of Azarias, Daniel iii. 26; and the latter to the "Benedicite," Dan. iii. 57. The ninth ode corresponds to the great Canticles of the New Testament, the "Magnificat" and the "Benedictus," Luke i. 46-68.

As the theme of the Canticle in Deuteronomy is deemed inappropriate for Christian feasts, the corresponding second ode is not found in festal Canons, where the first is accordingly followed by the third. It is only when we come to the Lenten Canons that we meet with the normal number. This fact will show the reader how closely the odes are linked with their scriptural models. And, indeed, the connection is often sufficiently obvious. Thus, on glancing at the two Canons for the Feast of the Epiphany, we find that in both cases the eighth ode makes allusion to the Fiery Furnace or the Three Children.

Further information on this subject may be gathered from the valuable collection of the chief Canons used in the Divine Service, published in 1875 at the Press of the Holy Synod. Here, the Greek original, the Church Slavonic text, and a modern Russian version are given side by side, the whole being accompanied by a preface and notes in Russian. It may be mentioned that of the twenty-nine Canons for various feasts and ferias contained in this volume, no less than eight Canons, and one yet longer hymn, are in honour of the Blessed Virgin. Besides this, she has her share in most of the other Canons, for the ninth ode, which, as we have seen, corresponds with the Magnificat, is largely devoted to her praise. In only two instances do we find it make no allusion to Mary, and here the only reminiscence of her Canticle is the use of the word "magnify." Nor is this all. Besides the many Marian Canons, and the ninth, or Marian ode in most Canons on other topics, special honour is given to the Mother of God at the end of other odes. As the Canon is divided into odes, so are these in their turn divided into verses or stanzas, the first of which is called the *Irmos*, and those which follow the *Troparia*. And as each Latin hymn is closed with a *Doxology*, so towards the end of each ode in the

Greco-Russian Canons, we have the shorter Doxology, followed by the Theotokion (in Slavonic Bohoroditchen), a Troparion in honour of the Blessed Virgin. But in some cases the Canons are given apart, and the Theotokia have to be sought elsewhere.

There are, moreover, certain *Troparia* known as *Staurotheotokia*, or in Slavonic *Krestobohoroditchni*, commemorating Mary's sorrows by the Cross. We have not noticed any use of this last term in Dr. Maltzew's volumes; but we have met with it in other Russian books.\*

It should be added that isolated *Theotokia* and other like *Troparia* are of frequent occurrence in the Office, and find a place in the shorter hours, and in the sacred Liturgy itself. To take an interesting example of these brief invocations of Mary, we find that towards the close of Prime the choir sings a verse, which may be freely rendered as follows:

Tributes of triumph to the queenly leader,  
Mother of God, thy ransomed people bring thee;  
Virgin and Bride, with might unconquered hold us  
Free from all dangers!†

This, as may be seen by turning to p. 352 of Dr. Maltzew's third volume, the *Kanonnik*, is the first *Contakion* of the great *Akathistos* hymn to our Blessed Lady. As the name implies, the hymn is to be sung without sitting down; though its length exceeds that of most Canons. It is composed of no less than thirteen *Contakia*, alternating with twelve other stanzas known as *Ikoi*. In the Greek the stanzas, with the exception of the aforesaid opening *Contakion*, begin successively with the twenty-four letters of the alphabet. This acrostic arrangement may remind the English reader of Chaucer's A B C., in which the same singular device is adopted in singing the praises of the Maiden Mother. This *Akathistos* is worthy of special notice not only for its intrinsic merits, but for its historic associations. As we learn from the Russian editor of the above-mentioned collection of Canons, it was composed and introduced into the Church service in commemoration of the

\* Cf. the "Slavonic and Russian Dictionary of the Academy," s. v. *Krestobohoroditchen*.

† "Die Nachtwache," p. 280.

miraculous deliverance of Constantinople in the year 626, when the imperial city was assailed by land and sea by the Persians and Avars. The Greek original was written, he adds, by George of Pisidia. It is sung in the Morning Office of the fifth Saturday in Lent, a custom which was confirmed by two fresh proofs of Mary's powerful intercession in 673 and in 716, when Constantinople was attacked by the Saracens.

As the first Contakion cited above does not enter into the alphabetic acrostic, it may possibly have a different origin. To judge by the following words of a Russian historian, this verse as it is now sung at Prime is commemorative of a somewhat later Marian miracle.

"So far as we know, it appears that Oskold and Dir, two princes of Kieff and of the companions of Ruric, were the first of the Russians who embraced Christianity. In the year 866 they made their appearance in armed vessels before the walls of Constantinople when the Emperor was absent, and threw the Greek capital into no little alarm and confusion. Tradition reports that the Patriarch Photius took the virginal robe of the Mother of God from the Blachern Church, and plunged it beneath the waves of the strait, when the sea immediately boiled up from underneath and wrecked the vessels of the heathen. Struck with awe, they believed in that God who had smitten them, and became the first-fruits of their people to the Lord. The hymn of victory, "To the Protecting Conductress," in honour of the most Holy Virgin, has remained a memorial of this triumph, and even now among ourselves concludes the Office for the First Hour in the daily Matins, for what was indeed the first hour of salvation to the land of Russia."\*

These pleasing pictures of the past are darkened by the thought that the imperial city has since then fallen into the hands of unbelievers, while Greeks and Russians themselves have long been a prey to something worse than the yoke of oppressors. Yet perchance the same powerful prayers which wrought their freedom of old may yet avail to bring them back to Catholic unity; and men of Russian race may come to the city of Constantine, not to destroy but to deliver.

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\* Cf. "A History of the Church of Russia," by A. H. Mouravieff, Chancellor to His Imperial Majesty, and Under-Procurator of the Most Holy Governing Synod, St. Petersburg, 1838. Translated by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, 1842.

While prayers or verses in honour of Our Blessed Lady are found in all the Canonical Hours, there is, as Dr. Maltzew points out, a special significance in the solemn commemoration of Mary in the Morning Office of the Eastern Church. Here, as elsewhere, the homage paid to the Mother has its source in the supreme worship of her Divine Son, Who is hailed in the morning as the rising Sun of Justice, and is about to become present on the Altar in the sacred Liturgy. The Morning Office is designed to celebrate the Birth of Christ, and for this reason His blessed Mother is specially remembered. Before the ninth ode of the Canon, the Deacon incenses the Altar, and then going out through the north door of the Sanctuary, he incenses the Icon of Mary, saying: "Let us magnify with hymns the Theotokos and Mother of Light."\* Later on in the same service the Holy Doors are thrown open to the sound of another anthem in praise of Mary.† On this ceremony Dr. Maltzew well says: "The Virgin Mother of God is the Royal Door through which the Eternal came to this earth from the Sanctuary of Heaven, and through which the entrance to Paradise is opened to mankind."‡

As we read these Russian prayers in honour of Our Blessed Lady, we are naturally reminded of many similar features in our own Latin Liturgy; and we are glad to see that Dr. Maltzew himself has not failed to notice these points of agreement. Thus, he tells us that the Feast of Mary's Nativity is celebrated in both East and West on September 8.§ And the Roman Feast of the Most Holy Rosary kept on the first Sunday in October (not October 1, as Dr. Maltzew has it) is matched by the Russian Festival of Mary's Patronage or Protection, celebrated on the first day of the same month.|| This feast, which like our own, is commemorative of a victory won by Mary's intercession, is peculiar to the Russian Church, and has not yet found a place in the Greek calendar. The Presentation of Mary in the Temple (November 21) and her glorious Assumption into Heaven are also honoured on the same dates

\* "Die Nachtwache," pp. 224-225.

† "N. W.," p. 239.

‡ "N. W.," p. xxviii.

§ "N. W.," p. lxxv. Needless to say, the difference between the old and new style prevents the celebration from actually falling on the same day.

|| *Pokroff*, "Presviatia Bohoroditis." Cf. "N. W.," p. 401.

by both Rome and Russia.\* But the agreement is often something closer than this, for as Dr. Maltzew points out the very words used in the Eastern Office are sometimes the same as those of the Roman Missal or Breviary. Thus, the Latin anthem, "Adorna thalamum tuum Sion," which is sung during the procession on the Feast of the Purification, corresponds with but slight variations with the Russian hymn for the self-same day.† And the Responsory for the sixth lesson at Matins on the Nativity of Our Lady is identical with a Russian *Troparion* for the same Festival.‡ So, again, the well-known verse, "Sub tuum praesidium confugimus," commonly associated with the Litany of Loreto, agrees almost word for word with a *Troparion* sung in the Russian Vespers for weekdays and in Lent.§ Our author is, surely, well warranted in saying that, "East and West at all times with one voice and one heart praise the Ever-Virgin, according to her word: For behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed." ||

In his treatment of these Marian prayers, we have a good instance of the care with which Dr. Maltzew compares the Russian Office with that of the Western Church. And the same subject shows also the excellent use he can make of the other Eastern Liturgies. Thus, in the comparative survey of the Eastern and Western rites prefixed to his third volume, he devotes several pages to the Coptic and Ethiopic Theotokia, and prints some long extracts from Karl Fries's German version of the "Weddase Marjam."¶ In this he is apparently influenced partly by the agreement of the Coptic and Slavonic prayers, and partly by the singular force and beauty of the Egyptian and Abyssinian anthems. It may be well to add that this is not the first time that Western readers have had an opportunity of appreciating these Eastern prayers to Mary. Some thirty years since, an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. J. M. Rodwell, made a prose translation of some of these Ethiopic Theotokia, which he kindly communicated to the editor of this

\* "N. W.," pp. 408, 744.

† "N. W.," p. 450.

‡ "Nativitas tua," etc., Breviarium Romanum, l.c. "Rozhdestvo tvoe i pr. N. W., p. 106.

§ Cf. "Officium Parvum B. M. V. ad Completorium," and "N. W." p. lxxix. and p. 790.

|| See vol. i. p. 237, second edition.

¶ "Kanonnik," pp. lxxii.-lxx.

Review, and allowed it to be printed in these pages.\* A metrical version from the Coptic—presumably the earlier form—has lately been attempted by the present writer.†

Among the feasts which are peculiar to the Russian Calendar, we may notice three which serve to illustrate the Muscovite devotion to the images of Mary. The Festival of the Kazan Icon of the Mother of God is kept on October 22 and July 8.‡ The Vladimirski miraculous Icon of Mary is similarly honoured on May 21, June 23, and August 26. This threefold festivity commemorates three occasions on which it is piously believed to have wrought the deliverance of Moscow, to wit, from Tamerlane, on August 26, 1395; from Achmet, on June 23, 1480; and in 1521, from Machmet-Girej, Khan of Kazan.§ And lastly, on June 26, we have the Feast of Mary's Icon at Tychwin, which is also known by the name of its former resting-place as the Icon of Blachernae.|| In connection with these feasts it may be worth while to cite the following passages from the travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch:

On Sunday July 8 (5th after Pentecost), they rang the great bell from daybreak, with its fellows, to assemble the heads of the convents and the bishops with their icons, to the cathedral, to celebrate the manifestation of the Icon of Our Lady, which had long lain buried in the earth at Kazan, and which was brought on this day to Moscow, where they built for it a large church at the extremity of the plain opposite to the gate of St. Nicholas, on the east side of the Kremlin.¶

While we were at Constantinople, at the Convent of the Resurrection, a widow woman brought to the hegoumen an icon of our Lady of Blachernae; the same which was in old times carried by the patriarch in procession round the walls and routed the besiegers. The woman had found it in the middle of a wall surrounding her house, with a lamp burning before it. We were then absent at Yeni Keui. On our return, at the invitation of the patriarch, for the festival of the Nativity, we were told of this icon, and saw it. It was not a simple painting, but,

\* See the valuable article on "The Witness of Heretical Bodies to Mariology," in the DUBLIN REVIEW for April, 1868. New Series. Vol. x. pp. 325-329.

† See "Hymns from the Coptic Theotokia," by W. H. Kent, printed in the *Ave Maria*, January 1897 and 1898. Vol. xlv. p. 13, and vol. xlv. p. 2.

‡ Cf. "N. W.," p. 405.

§ "N. W.," pp. 707, 708.

|| "N. W.," pp. 712, 713.

¶ See the second volume of Mr. Palmer's work, "The Patriarch and the Tsar," p. 223. This volume is mainly occupied by the greater part of this interesting journal of the travels of Macarius.

as it were, an embodied figure, or figment of mastic, standing out in relief from the panel, striking awe into the beholder. Our lord the patriarch [of Antioch] did all he could, and offered a large sum of money to obtain it from the hegoumen; but it was impossible. The hegoumen afterwards sent it by a merchant to the Emperor of Muscovy, who gave it the handsomest reception; and having covered it all over with gold and silver and jewels, and carried it with him to the wars, he has now brought it back in triumph before him.\*

And the same writer, in describing how the Tsar Alexis went forth to war with the Poles, says: "The icon of Blachernae was set up before him in his sledge" (p. 158). Elsewhere, he gives us an account of the miracle ascribed to the second Icon, mentioned above, as he learnt it at the Convent of Our Lady Hodigitria, a short distance from Novgorod:

For we were told that at the coming of Tamerlane, with an army like the sands of the desert, to make war on the princes of Muscovy, who were then very weak, the prince of Moscow with much exertion got together an army of 100,000 men, and by the intercession of this holy Mother of God, surnamed *ὁδηγήτρια*, and of St. Nicholas, he obtained a victory over the Tartars, and utterly destroyed them; for among the infidels there fell a darkness and black dust, and they began to slay one another, while on the side of the Christians there was the light of day, and they slew their enemies with a great slaughter. On this account the prince of Moscow sent and built this convent of our Lady *ὁδηγήτρια* and its dependencies, and they keep annually the 26th of August in her honour. From the city of Novgorod there come forth the metropolitan, the heads of convents, and all the priests and deacons, after celebrating Mass in their own churches, and all the townspeople, from the grantees to the women and the children in great procession, and assist in this convent at the Mass with the *ἁγιασμός* and the *παράκλησις*. Many of them come overnight for the vigil.†

Besides these Marian feasts in the Russian Calendar, we may notice an old Eastern rite given in Dr. Maltzew's third volume, the Service of the Panagia, in which bread is blessed and eaten in honour of Our Lady.‡ Readers of the aforesaid "Travels of Macarius" will remember many allusions to this interesting custom. The Syrian Deacon records more than one festal banquet, at which he and his father were entertained by their Russian hosts; and he seldom fails to mention that

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\* Pp. 95-96. It may be well to add the date of these travels, 1652-1656.

† Pp. 247, 248.

‡ "Kanonnik," p. xcix. and p. 767.



at the close of the repast the Panagia was brought in and blessed and distributed. Here, as elsewhere, Dr. Maltzew, besides printing and translating the rite of the blessing, gives us an account of the service, taking his description from Goar's fine edition of the Euchologium. In addition to this we have a note from the Venice Horologium of 1888, telling the legendary origin of this singular ceremony. The Apostles, we are told, when gathered at table after the Ascension of their Lord, were wont to set apart some of their bread as His portion. At the end of the meal, this was lifted up with words of prayer and praise. While they were doing this on the third day after Mary's burial, she appeared to them, and gave them gladsome greeting. And for this reason the ceremony has since been associated with her name, and accompanied by prayers for her protection. The word "Panagia" is, of course, properly used of the Blessed Virgin herself in the Invocation, "All-holy Lady, help us," which is said as the bread is lifted up; but by a very natural transition, the name has come to be used of the bread, and the vessel containing it is called a *Panagiar*. In his notice of the ceremony, Dr. Maltzew compares it with various Latin customs of blessing food or drink in honour of certain Saints, *e.g.*, the blessing of wine on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist.

After what we have seen already, it is hardly necessary to add that in these liturgical books, the Russian devotion to the Saints of God is sufficiently shown by hymns in their praise and prayers for their protection. Thus, the volume just cited contains Canons to the Holy Angels, to St. John the Baptist, to the Apostles, to St. Nicholas the Wonderworker, and to all the Saints.\* But this topic belongs more properly to the seventh volume of the series, which has yet to make its appearance.

Another point of Catholic teaching and practice is abundantly illustrated in the first volume, which contains the sacred Liturgy—prayer for the dead, and the offering of Requiem Masses. In the Roman Mass the dead are mentioned in the Oblation of the Host. In the Greco-Russian Proskomidi their commemoration is more conspicuous; for the fifth Prosphora is specially offered for the faithful departed. Further on in the Liturgy a rubric enjoins additional supplication when Mass

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\* Pp. 437-571.

is being offered for the dead. Besides this, there is another commemoration of the departed after the Consecration, corresponding to that which is found in the Roman Mass.\*

We have noticed but a few of the many points on which the Russian Liturgy bears witness to Catholic doctrines and devotional practices, and we have caught but a few faint echoes of its melodious music. But if the reader will bear this fact in mind, and remember that the prayers and hymns here cited are no isolated instances, but rather a mere handful of flowers gathered as samples from a singularly fair and fertile field, what has been said may be enough to give him some notion of the treasures contained in the Russian Liturgy. And some conception of Dr. Maltzew's careful and painstaking industry may be formed, even from this imperfect record of his labours. But his handiwork, let us hasten to add, bears tokens of the presence of something better than mere learning, or scholarly care and accuracy. These things, indeed, have their worth, and we could ill afford to spare them. Yet by themselves they by no means suffice to make a worthy liturgiologist. And we should be loth to see these sacred themes treated in dry pedantic fashion by some mere scholar, however learned and laborious. Happily this is by no means the case with Dr. Maltzew. It is impossible to read his work without feeling that he is inspired by a lively faith, and a genuine love of the noble Liturgy on which he has bestowed his best labour. He has thoroughly entered into its spirit, and we can feel its influence in his own words, which sometimes seem like an echo of its stately language.

Needless to say, there are some points on which a Catholic reader cannot agree with this Russian theologian. But these references to matters of difference between Rome and Russia are both few and brief, and there is happily no need to notice them on the present occasion. We had rather leave such topics till we have to deal with some work of a more controversial nature. And the books before us have little to do with theological polemics. As a valuable service to liturgical science they minister to the cause of Catholic truth. But both from their subject matter, and from the way in which it is handled, they are eminently pacific, and may well serve to soften the

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\* See the second edition of the first volume, pp. 44, 65, and 92-3.

needless bitterness of controversy, and remove some of those mutual misunderstandings which are among the chief causes and the most deadly effects of separation. We hail it as a hopeful sign, that such a work as this should come to us from Russia, in the reign of the Pontiff who has honoured the memory of the brother Apostles of the great Slavonic race, who has cherished the ancient Eastern Liturgies, and has moved all the members of his world-wide flock to pray for the speedy return of the separated Churches to the path of peace and Catholic unity.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

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## ART. VI.—POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN CATHOLICISM AND SPIRITUALISM.

THE writer is not concerned in this article to maintain any one of the theories by which it has been sought to explain the phenomena of Spiritualism.\* Believing, as he does, that no system ever flourished by its errors, but by the truth contained in it, his object is to show that Spiritualism, however erroneous it may be in practice, is based upon a primary and fundamental truth which has been neglected and denied by Protestantism, but which lies at the root of the Catholic system.

It might, indeed, be shown that almost all the divisions of Protestantism have had as their foundation some truth which finds its proper place in the Catholic system, but which had become atrophied or distorted among the general body of Protestants.† At present, however, it is only Spiritualism which concerns us, and in this instance the neglected truth is absolutely fundamental.

Spiritualism took its rise in America—a country largely Protestant—and it has found the majority of its adherents in Protestant lands. This fact is a significant illustration of the

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\* The most important of these theories may be briefly summarised as follows:

1. They are simply due to conscious fraud.
2. They are caused by the spirits of the dead (the spiritualist theory).
3. They are caused by the agency of devils.
4. They are due to a class of "demons," a separate order of beings, neither devils nor spirits of the dead. (This is maintained in a work by J. C. Grant, entitled "My Spiritual Autobiography," printed for private circulation only.)
5. They are due "usually" to the "astral body or double of the medium or of some one present," or to the "shells" or "eidola" of the dead, or in certain cases to "elementals," and occasionally to spirits on the higher planes of existence. For the full statement of this theory Madame Blavatski's "Key to Theosophy," and Sinnett's "Esoteric Buddhism," must be consulted.
6. They are the result of the latent action of the "subjective mind" of the medium on that of the percipients (Hudson's "Laws of Psychic Phenomena"), &c.

† As instances of isolated doctrines and practices of Catholicism which have been exaggerated out of all due proportion by various sects, while by the generality of Protestants they have been set aside, may be cited the teaching of universal celibacy by the "Shaker" sect, which is practised by the Higher Grade Shakers and set forth as an ideal for the whole community; the use of prayer and anointing by the "Peculiar People," and of faith-healing by "Christian Scientists"; the use of medicine, the ordinary means appointed by God, being absolutely rejected by the two last-named bodies.

preceding remarks. The truth, then, on which Spiritualism insists, and which Protestantism has on the whole denied, is the immanence of the invisible in the visible world.

In order to make this clear, let us compare the Protestant idea of the relation of the two spheres of being with that of Catholicism. The ordinary Protestant idea of God is of a far-off Deity Whose intervention in the material world is reduced to a minimum. Under the Jewish law, indeed, He constantly communicated with the saints of the old dispensation through angels, prophets, signs, and wonders. A great outburst of these portents took place at the birth of the new dispensation, and for a short time subsequently, only to cease altogether with the Apostolic age. Heaven is a remote place, separated from this world by intervening millions of miles. To this place Christ withdrew at His Ascension. It is inhabited by the angels and spirits of the just, and, on account of the vast material distance which separates them from us, it is absurd to think that any communication is possible between us. Probably many Protestants would deny that they held such a materialistic notion of the universe as this when thus stated baldly and plainly. But, though the variations of Protestant beliefs are so great that many individuals might be found who do not hold the theory as here outlined, yet such, the writer believes, is not an unfair statement of the ordinary Protestant position.

And, in fact, such a theory of the relation of the Seen to the Unseen must appear to be the necessary ground of Protestant teaching, whether acknowledged or not. It fits in with the doctrine of justification by faith only, according to which man's soul is not brought into direct contact with the grace of God through visible channels, but is justified merely by a change in the attitude of the mind and affections towards a powerful but distant Being. The great argument against the objective Presence in the Eucharist, as stated in the Anglican Prayer-book, is a noteworthy and explicit example of this mode of thought and reasoning. It is there argued that "the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here; it being against the truth of Christ's natural Body to be at one time in more places than one." The idea of local and material separation between the seen and unseen spheres could hardly be more clearly enunciated than in this passage.

The idea lying at the root of Catholic belief is the exact opposite of this. It regards the spiritual world as interpenetrating the material, and both as acting and reacting the one upon the other. It regards God, the angels, the saints, heaven, purgatory, hell as not so much separated from us by space, as by the assimilation of our souls to one or the other. As St. Augustine said, "Not by intervals of space, but by likeness, do we draw nigh unto God, and by unlikeness do we depart from Him."

Man, consisting, as he does, of soul and body, already inhabits two worlds—the spiritual and material. As he lives on the side of the latter, so does he withdraw from the former, and his soul becomes materialised. As he lives on the side of the former, his very body becomes spiritualised, and already in this world he begins to live the life of heaven. He becomes detached from material objects. This idea lies at the bottom of those monastic and ascetic ideals with which the Church has always been so strongly permeated.

On the Protestant theory, man's soul at death is transported through intervening space to the far-off heaven or hell. On the theory underlying Catholic belief, his soul enters the next life so near or so far off God as his moral or spiritual development has been advanced or retarded by his use or abuse of God's grace. If, when the spirit leaves the body, it has a strong trend to worldliness and sin, then this centrifugal force will drive that soul further and further from the source of spiritual life and heat, and it will become one of those "wandering stars for which is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever." If, on the other hand, there is repentance, even at the eleventh hour, then it may be hoped the centripetal movement is maintained after death, slowly and painfully at first, but with cumulative velocity as the soul passes through successive stages of purification from darkness to shadow, from shadow to twilight, from twilight to the light of God, aided by the prayers and masses of the faithful on earth and the prayers of the saints who are nearest to God. In this view there are no material limits between heaven and purgatory, but they are merely terms for expressing wide intervals of spiritual development, to which the particular locality in which a spirit may find itself is a mere circumstance. As "birds of a feather flock together" in this life, so spiritual affinity will bring together in the next

those in a like state of spiritual development, except that the higher grades may teach and guide those lower than themselves, and thereby increase their own joy and further their own progress, just as saintly men will in this life consort with the degraded and polluted in order to raise them.

To those acquainted with the spiritualistic doctrine of the development of souls in the unseen world the parallel between this and Catholic teaching must be apparent.

In the case of the Theosophists, who were originally a sect that sprang from Spiritualism, this idea of purgatory has been worked out in far more elaborate detail. The writer can recollect a year or two ago reading an article written on those lines by Mrs. Besant, well known as an able exponent of Theosophy, in one of the leading magazines.

Then the idea of spiritual guides attaching themselves to the living is quite in accord with the Catholic belief in guardian angels. The connection, too, between the belief of the Spiritualist that he can enter into communion with those who have left this mundane sphere and the Catholic doctrine of the invocation of saints is sufficiently obvious. Indeed, the writer distinctly remembers having read in a work on Spiritualism, among the self-recorded experiences of one of its devotees, that he was wont to pray to the spirit of St. John the Evangelist and other saints, and that they had a certain code of signals by which he recognised their presence.

The power of spirit to act upon matter is, of course, one of the fundamental tenets of Spiritualism. And so it has ever been a root principle of Catholicism. Even the natural idea of the immortality of the soul pre-supposes this. For if the body be the organ of the soul, what is this but that the spirit acts on and through matter? Protestantism is inconsistent in this respect: it accepts, nominally at least, the basal truth of the Incarnation, which is the highest example of this principle, but not the fact of the Visible Church, as the material organ or body through which the Holy Spirit manifests Himself, being an extension of that Incarnation. Similarly, the Protestant denies the efficacy of sacraments as material media of direct spiritual power, though our Lord used such media in working many of His miracles. The miracles recorded in Holy Scripture, and especially those of our Lord and of His Apostles,



have been taken by reverent Spiritualists as showing Him to be the greatest Spiritualist of all. Some of them, indeed, according to the Spiritualists, have had their parallel in works performed by their own media, as in the case of Home's alleged levitations and handling of red-hot objects without harm, the latter finding its Scriptural counterpart in the story of the Three Children. A still more exactly similar case to this is found in the recent story of the alleged fire-walking exploits of certain South Sea Islanders, told by some English men of science, who had, according to their own account, observed the extraordinary facts, without being able to offer any explanation.\* Catholics and Spiritualists are both at one, then, as against Protestants, in asserting that the age of miracles is not past, and that on the same underlying principle—the action of spirit upon matter, and the interpenetration of the spiritual and material spheres.

On this principle the Church has always recognised that special spiritual power is attached to certain persons, places, and material objects, because these things are points, as it were, at which the spiritual and material spheres meet.

But the Spiritualists consider themselves to have a grievance against the Church, in that such dealings with the Unseen as theirs are under her ban. No doubt the Church does not allow her children to make a practice of attending spiritualistic *séances*, and for very good reasons. In the first place, God has appointed her as the one organ of spiritual life in this world. He has committed to her the power of infallibly declaring to each man what is best for his own soul. She has her authorised means of communication with the spiritual world, which she offers to all—her sacraments, her saints, her holy places, where fountains are open for sin and for uncleanness, for the elevation of the spiritual life, and for the healing of the body. She will not admit every spiritual manifestation, even within her own pale and among her own people, to be a true one until she has carefully sifted and tested it, remembering the words of the Apostle, to “try the spirits whether they be of God.”

She acknowledges the possibility of mere vulgar fraud and

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\* The reports of these two Dunedin (New Zealand) doctors are summarised by the *British Medical Journal*.

hallucination. She is not unmindful of the old law, so stern against unauthorised tamperings with the spiritual world. She knows that "deceiving spirits" can imitate the miracles of God up to a certain point, as in the case of Jannes and Jambres. She will therefore admit no miracles or visions to be genuine until she has subjected them to the most careful tests, especially in the case of such as have relation to doctrine. She will admit no powers of healing to reside in special places or shrines without considerable examination. When they have had the stamp of her approval, then the faithful can visit them to seek blessings for soul or body, but not before.

It is the same in holding communion with the saints. She tells her members what holy souls have most power with God, and whose prayers it is, therefore, good to impetrate. In canonising them she impresses upon them the seal of her approval. In all these matters the Church is fulfilling that high office which Christ gave her to be teacher of all men in all things which contain their souls' welfare.

In these, as in other respects, her obedient children must hear her voice, remembering the words of her Founder: "He that heareth you heareth Me." She would be neglecting her plain duty if she allowed people to please themselves in such matters. She claims to be alone able to set the soul in true and healthy relations with the spiritual sphere.

Many Spiritualists differ from the Church and Scriptures on the subject of demonology. They acknowledge no spirits in the unseen world but those of the departed. Yet even on their own theory there is danger in attending their own *séances*. "Like to like" is, they allow, the law of the spiritual world, and some of them have from time to time warned amateurs against admitting to their circles those who are of lax morality, lest these should attract spirits of similarly low and earthly tendencies. But there are, surely, very few who can so rely upon the sanctity of their lives as to shield them from this danger. And might it not be said, on purely spiritualistic grounds, that in any case the lower and more "earthbound" spirits would naturally be more prone to visit this material sphere, and to seek again some terrestrial footing in that mundane realm which still exercises upon them more attraction than the higher planes of spiritual existence? The Theosophists, whose original members were

an offshoot of Spiritualism, take this view, and they may be presumed to know something about it, having been Spiritualists themselves.\*

The Theosophists cultivate their own spiritual life, according to their own rules, and have given up mediumship as such.

Some mediums pretend that they can give assistance to "undeveloped" spirits by consorting with them, and this has the same principle in common with the Catholic practice of praying for the dead; but as carried out by the Spiritualists it may be, granting that the spirits are really present, nothing but a dangerous delusion, for, according to their own accounts, the "spirit" seems to possess the medium for a time, after the manner of the familiar spirits of old, and such spiritual union is, to say the least, just as likely to result in harm to the medium as in good to the "spirit."

And as a matter of fact, it would seem to be the case, as far as this life is concerned, that media are often, on the whole, affected adversely by their practices.†

Another point of contact, a very important one, between Catholicism and Spiritualism remains to be considered. The Church, in her very constitution, recognises the universality of law and order in the spiritual universe. She is called the Kingdom of Heaven, a name which implies the presence of that law and order. Her faith is secured by definitions to which all her members must assent; her discipline, by strict rules which all must obey so long as they remain in her communion. The graces of God are given in her fold by seeking them in those channels which have the seal of her authority; final salvation is attained by conforming to those rules of the spiritual life which she has laid down. Nor is this feature of her mundane life but a temporal accident of her being consequent upon her relation to a world where law and order prevail, for had she been a mere secular society her constitution would have been subject to the same law of flux and change that is seen to be the rule in the case of all purely human institutions. Her constitution, on the contrary, partakes in its unchangeableness of the unalterable character of God. The City of God on earth is, as it were, cut out of living rock with lines as sharp and unworn

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\* Sinnett's "Esoteric Buddhism," p. 97, ff.

† "Key to Theosophy," pp. 192-197.

now as when it first left the hands of the heavenly Architect. In this respect, indeed, God's Church much more resembles Nature, with her fixed and iron laws coming direct from God, than anything of man's devising.

And it must be so, for God is Law and Order itself. He is the Author, not of confusion, but of peace. The true Church is the most perfect embodiment on earth of the law and order of heaven in her doctrines, ritual, ceremonial, and teaching. She embodies in her constitution that obedience to the will of God which is perfectly realised only by the angels and saints in heaven.

It must always be remembered, then, that the Church does not teach that God breaks His own laws by His own miracles, for that would be for the Author and Fount of law to introduce confusion into His universal kingdom of order. This is one of those false notions on the strength of which some men of science have denied the possibility of miracles altogether. But miracles are not the breaking of natural law. They are the deploying upon the material plane of the spiritual and invisible forces which are at the basis of all phenomena.

If a stream is held back by a dam it ceases to run so long as its force is not sufficient to overcome the obstacle. The force of gravitation does not cease to exert itself, but that force is overborne by a superior one. When a bird or a balloon rises into the air that same force is again conquered by a stronger force, and even made to do the duty of a submissive servant by keeping the weightier part of the balloon in its place, or by steadying the flight of the bird, and, together with the atmosphere, supplying that resistance of which it takes advantage in its downward and upward swoops.

So in miracles a real living force is exerted which counteracts or guides to fresh ends the ordinary forces of matter. In cases of levitation, such as—with all reverence be it said—our Lord's walking on the sea, there is a real force exerted by which the ordinary ponderability of the body is overcome, though such force is of a different nature to that which makes itself felt in the case of the bird or balloon.

From this point of view the most stupendous miracles are seen to be possible without any infraction of natural law.

The miracle of the sun standing still in the days of Joshua

has been a hard nut for many good Christians. It has been pointed out that to take this literally in the sense that the diurnal revolution of the earth was stopped for a time would mean the plunging of the world into chaos, and the involving of everything contained in it in one hideous ruin. It has been suggested that as God economises His power and suits the means to the end, nothing more is needed to explain this account than a refraction of the sun's image, after setting, above the horizon, and that the phrase "the sun stood still" was merely a manner of speaking adapted to the time, just as we still keep to the old expressions of the "rising and setting" of that luminary, though we now know that he does nothing of the kind.

The suggestion is ingenious, and the present writer for a long time accepted it; but surely it is a bolder and grander idea, as well as being more in accordance with the plain words of Scripture, to believe that God did really stay the earth's rotation for a time, and yet so that it received no shock or damage, simply by a mighty exertion of superior spiritual force. When it is realised how small an object is this world in the tremendous abyss of space, filled as it is with billions of spheres many times greater than ours, it is surely no more difficult to believe that He who made and sustains them all, and who inhabits that vast starry palace in its inconceivable immensity, could bring into play the necessary forces required for such a manifestation of His power than when the miracle is on a scale more within the compass of our imagination. To those who believe in God and an invisible world every miracle is possible. To materialists no break in the usual material order is possible which cannot be explained by the senses. To halt between the two and make a kind of compromise is nothing but to be illogical and inconsistent.

So the late Professor Huxley administered a deserved rebuke to some Anglican clergy who wished to make a concession to Science, as they supposed, and to show their liberality of thought, by admitting, contrary to their Prayer-book, that the weather could not be affected by prayers. The Professor answered that if he believed in God, as they professed to do, he would find no difficulty in the belief they were so anxious to disclaim.

Again, it is not so much that our Saviour's miracles are contrary to any known natural law, as that they often dispensed with certain processes of Nature, making use of her up to a certain point, but transcending her ordinary action.

Possessed with the fallacious notion of miracles to which reference has already been made, and yet unable to deny the reality of some present-day marvels, such as those which have happened at Lourdes, unbelievers have thought it sufficient disproof of their miraculous character if they could account for them somehow on natural grounds. But if the theory of miracles above delineated is correct, it will be seen that such explanations, even if true, do not touch the root of the matter.

Unbelievers have shifted the ground on which they based their denial of the miraculous. First it was the impossibility of such events ever having taken place, and now that they are confronted with facts the real nature of which they are unable to dispute they attempt to explain them away. Their favourite "explanation" of the wonderful cures which from time to time occur at Lourdes and elsewhere is that of the action of the mind upon the body, which they say is sufficient to account for all. But even if such "explanation" were accepted as sufficient in all cases (and to do so in some instances would require a strength of imaginative faith far beyond that which sees in them the work of a superior power), yet it does but thrust further back the originating cause. For the question would still remain as to how the mind is able to accomplish such a feat. Even to say, as they do, that the mind is in an abnormal state from religious excitement, and is therefore able to develop extraordinary powers, is only another way of stating what the Catholic of course admits—that religious faith is necessary to the miracle: a condition upon the necessity of which our Lord Himself always insisted.

Even if their statement be true that the miracle is wrought through the action of the mind, it is an absolutely unwarranted inference to say that therefore the power originated in the mind. If God works through the mind and spirit of man to effect the salvation of his soul, why should he not use the same instrument to accomplish the healing of his body? The essence of the miracle consists not in God acting externally on the body without the aid of the mind, but in its transcending the



ordinary rules of nature's working, as, for instance, in the apparent incurability of the disease, or in the suddenness with which the cure is wrought.

The materialistic argument is the same as that which it is now fashionable to apply to the whole range of God's dealings with the world and with man. The Creation affords the most notable example of this. The theory of evolution has not been proved,\* but, even if true, it does not dispense with the work of the Deity as materialists have triumphantly pretended. It provides us, indeed, with a large number of secondary causes in the work of creation, but leaves the first cause untouched and unexplained. God could have done the work by a process of evolution quite as well as by a single creative act.

The power of words and names is no doubt great, and the substitution of the term "Evolution" for that of "Creation" has been considered sufficient by certain minds to dethrone the Deity. It calls to mind irresistibly the story of the old lady and "the blessed word 'Mesopotamia.'" It is the same in minor matters. Not so very long ago to declare belief in Mesmerism was to stand confessed as superstitious. Now this strange power has been dubbed "Hypnotism" it has obtained a new lease of respectable life, and no man of science need fear the scorn of his more materialistic fellows if he not only professes his faith in it, but even practises it himself for medicinal purposes.

In conclusion, it may be said that if the scientific world ever seriously weighs the evidence of such observers of spiritual phenomena as Crookes and Wallace (evidence which, if it had related to purely material facts, would long ago have obtained at least a respectful hearing), if ever the Psychical Research Society succeeds, by its careful method of sifting data, in establishing the fact of conscious existence after death on

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\* That is to say, the theory of Evolution as commonly defined by scientific Materialists, including the factors of heredity, the survival of the fittest, sexual selection, &c. Apart from these, Evolution may be regarded as so far proved that, as a theory, it gives a satisfactory explanation of the data. This, though short of absolute demonstration, is probably in this instance, as in many others, the nearest approach to proof which can be made. It is the above-mentioned factors which, as has been pointed out by Dr. Zahm, Professor Mivart, and others, fail to explain, or are even inconsistent with, a large mass of data, and can therefore be accepted only with a far more restricted application than that of the advocates of the mechanical and materialistic view of Evolution.



grounds as undisputed as those on which rest the truths of natural science, no doubt the disbelievers in a future state, perforce converted to the admission of its certainty, will prove equal to the occasion, and will invent some new term to express the truth which will at once appear to justify their past scepticism and dress up the ancient belief in the garb of a new discovery.

HENRY C. CORRANCE.

[One or two minor points of contact may, perhaps, be worth noting. The writer can remember reading in a Spiritualistic work of frankincense being used to ward off evil spirits; but whether such use is general among Spiritualists he is unable to say.

One curious point, however, seems to be recognised as a general law of Spiritualism, illustrating the action of material forces upon the spirit world: this is the difficulty of producing manifestations in a strong light. The constant use throughout the Scriptures of light and darkness as representing respectively good and evil, and the Church's symbolic use of lights in her ceremonies, afford a parallel, which is not, however, altogether complimentary to the "spirits" of the dark *séances*.

The use of material objects by clairvoyants to bring them *en rapport* with absent or deceased persons has, perhaps, a more than superficial resemblance to the Catholic use of relics and images.

There are examples of "levitation" in hagiology, one of the most striking being that of S. Joseph of Cupertino.

The "bi-location" of St. Alphonsus, according to Theosophists, depends upon a power innate in all, and which can be developed at will by adepts who have gone through the necessary training, including celibacy, fasting, spiritual concentration, &c. The S.P.P.R. has collected numerous instances of its apparent involuntary exercise.]

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ART. VII.—THE FORESHADOWING OF CHRISTIANITY: THE “ALCESTIS” OF EURIPIDES CONSIDERED AS A TYPE OF THE REDEMPTION.

I.

IN the Confessions of S. Augustine are words which can be transcribed thus:—“When I separated from Thy Unity I fell to pieces, lost in a maze of objects. Thou deignest to gather the pieces together again.”

Assuming the primitive unity of the human race, we learn from an historical document, the Book of Genesis (? 1488 B.C.), that Almighty God held converse with our first parents; and that after the Fall he promised to their seed a Redeemer. We do not know the mode of this divine communication: whether it was the word of mouth of a visible Being; or an interior, intellectual manifestation. Still less, how far it was full in particulars, or elaborated in details. But it *must* have been adequate. Being creatures with a future they would have duties, obligations, aims. With no traditions to guide them, with no other education possible, it is clear they would require instruction. Such instruction they could only receive mediately or immediately from God. From the nature of the case it must have been a revelation. The very much later writer of the Book of Ecclesiasticus XVII. (? 195 B.C.) is more explicit than the writer of Genesis on this point. From his words it is clear this revelation had reference not only to the actual, but emphatically to the future.

6. He created in them the science of the spirit, He filled their hearts with wisdom, and showed them both good and evil.

9. Moreover, He gave them instructions, and the law of life for an inheritance.

10. He made an everlasting covenant with them, and He showed them His justice and His judgments.

It is difficult of apprehension that such revelation, affecting man's most vital interests, should not, as carefully as might be,

have been handed down from father to son ; until, elucidated and enlarged, it would pass from Adam to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses ; becoming more and more concrete in certain directions as civilisation—that is, the effect of such revelation—advanced. “ I maintain,” says Schelling, “ that civilisation was the primal condition of the human race.” \*

That this was so, the special religious faculty man possesses, the admitted universality of religious beliefs, and their fundamental identity, seem to prove. “ That there are races without religion is still more incredible,” wrote Taylor.† The reason, no less than the conscience, of man would have sustained and developed so sacred an inheritance. Yet, though this covenant was to be everlasting, in view of the all but most tragic event in the history of man, the Fall, a disintegration of such revelation would most probably coincide with the extension of the human race. Its hold on the supreme points of the primitive instruction, the most consoling of which was the promise of a Redeemer, would weaken, and in parts fail. So that perversions, contortions, debasements, of the original would little by little supervene. However these might intensify, even to contradictions, it is highly probable that being so intimately bound up with the finest ideals of man’s life, with that yearning from which, it is acknowledged, he has never entirely been able to divest himself, he would never absolutely lose touch, however partially, however faint, with what he had once received from his Creator. The fact of his being a creature whose Creator, beneficent and omniscient, is eternal, demands such a theory, and so strengthens the fact. It is scarcely conceivable that the shafts of light which connected the birth-place of the first human soul with man, should, however blurred, broken, and defaced, ever be entirely extinguished.

That being so some evidence of a Supreme Being, of His “ instructions,” His “ law of life,” of His “ justice and judgments,” above all of the “ everlasting covenant ” of “ a Redeemer ”—of which these historical writers speak as having been given to man—evidence naturally in the lapse of time dimmed and difficult of complete recognition—should and must appear in the history of the human mind. We should expect *it* indeed to constantly look for aid to some kind of religion—

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\* “ Studien,” p. 167.

† “ Primitive Culture,” p. 378.

that is, some approach to, dependence on, or intercourse with, a power beyond and superior to itself. A primitive revelation demands this, and its existence would be a first—I do not say final—proof of primitive revelation.

And it is exactly this that the history of the human mind reveals. The history of the human mind is the history of religion. Whether it be from the primitive monotheism to the monotheism of the Patriarchs (2500 B.C.), and thence to Judaism (1500 B.C.), and thence to Christianity, in what we may call the direct line; or whether it be through animism and fetichism, naturalism and henotheism, merging in a polytheism with its huge diversities in the ethnic religions; whether it be in the pantheism of China, the animal worship of Egypt, or the idolatry of Greece. Nor should traces of it be wanting in the Zoroastrianism of Persia, the Brahmanism of India (1500 B.C.), with its later Neo-Brahmanism (400 B.C.) and Buddhism (450 B.C.); or in the Confucianism and Tâoism of China (500 B.C.), or even the Paganism of savage tribes. I do not, of course, suggest that in these religions anterior to Christianity—Judaism aside—you will find any approach to a complete doctrine, homogeneous and cohering. They present a singular combination of opposites and contradictions; but this will render the discernible traces of the evidence we postulate all the more striking. And Indian and Iranian documents, Egyptian hieroglyphics, and Chaldean cuneiform inscriptions will yield them.

If in the Iranian Zend-Avesta we find a Zarathustra whom the Greeks called Zoroaster (1400 B.C.),\* the chosen mediator between the God of Goodness, Ahura-Mazda (whom Western writers name Ormuzd), and mankind; a prophet illumined by light from on high; by whose lips Ormuzd warns and teaches,† if in the religious doctrines of these Persians Ormuzd is a sole, perfect, personal, and (distinguishing theirs from all other myths and systems of Paganism) a *creative* Supreme Being; and if, as a later development, we have as his *vis-à-vis* a God of Evil, Angro-Mainjus (or Ahriman according to Greek writers), also eternal, the cunning of whose lying and double-dealing is opposed to the wisdom and truthfulness of Ormuzd,

\* Dr. Haug places Zoroaster 100 B.C.; Bunsen 3000 B.C.

† Döllinger, "Pag. & Jud.," ii. p. 178.

in incessant warfare, both attended with followers, until Ahriman is finally overthrown and banished; if its cosmology, ancient history, and devotional exercises (faith, prayer, good words, confession, and sacrifice) bear a strong resemblance to the doctrines of Holy Scripture,\* we are justified in holding it as evidence to be strengthened by further research.† And if we find in Saoshyant, the final prophet destined to be born of a virgin at the end of time, together with a system of expiation of sins by good works, of confession to a Destur, or priest, heaven, hell, resurrection of the body, we feel that, although we must beware of mistaking external resemblance for internal harmonies, we are in presence of remarkable phenomena. And the very Rev. Dr. Casartelli enables us to advance a step further. In a most interesting paper on the "Idea of Sin" among the Indo-Eranians of Antiquity (read before the International Scientific Congress of Catholics at Fribourg in 1897), he shows that the Avestic religion contained a *true* idea of sin; that is, the free will in man, to choose obedience to a moral law, the result of the Will of a Supreme Being.

Or again, if amid the most vulgar Fetichism, amid the worship of a living peacock, of a bull Apis, or of a holy crocodile, we find in Egypt a high philosophy, a noble and pure theism; if there are traces of a supreme, invisible, eternal God; elevated ideas upon a future life, and judgment after death, as among the factors in the ancient civilisation of the Egyptians (documents up to 3000 B.C.), we are within reach, I do not say more, of evidence of a disfigured, enfeebled memory of earlier truths, prophecies, and dogma. And this, although Egyptian monotheism were clad in a polytheistic dress, and stamped with pantheism in its features. That the same priests who have left us such beautiful sentiments upon an invisible God, to whom no temple was ever erected, were the

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\* Schanz, "Chris. Apolo." ii. p. 64.

† It is remarkable that neither Egypt, Chaldea, Greece, nor Rome conceived the idea of a *creative* supreme God, and therefore not of the unity of God. Hence their supreme God could not demand an exclusive cult. In ancient China there was a supreme God, Shang-ti, but he was lord of Heaven, not the creator of it. And even the God referred to in Persia, who created heaven and earth, was not the creator of the Spirit of Evil. Only in Judaism, Christianity, and Islamism is there a true monotheism: a God creator of all things, and to whom exclusive worship must, therefore, be paid.

ministers of a cult to pagan gods in the immense temples of Abydos and Memphis, tells for rather than against my thesis.

Or, once more, if in the old religion of China with its historically authenticated traditions as far back as 3000 B.C. (the Shu-King covers 2,356-747 B.C.); if before the time of Confucius (551-478 B.C.) and his state religion of ancestor-worship, and before Lâo-tse (604 B.C.) and his popular religion of idolatrous pantheism, we find ideas of a Supreme God, immortality of the soul, eternal rewards, and sacrifice; and if later we find traces of an ideal man who in sight of the High bears on his shoulders the iniquity of all the people, a sort of Messiah, but inferior to that portrayed by Isaias, we feel we are accumulating data to go upon.

Or, finally, if in the Rig-Veda of India,\* as Dr. Casartelli points out in the paper alluded to, there is in the cult of Varuna a Being whose will and whose commands in the moral as in the physical order are those of a Ruler and Legislator; a transgression of which will or divine law, whether in act or thought, is sin—and the true idea of sin; to whom were addressed prayers for forgiveness after sincere contrition and humble confession: who is an omniscient God, penetrating the most secret sins of the human heart, we may be permitted “astonishment,” to use the expression of the learned doctor, at its close approach to Christianity. With an idea of future life analogous to that of Christianity, an eternal heaven and an eternal hell, there are in the Rig-Veda, among the basest and coarsest thoughts, hymns which recall Holy Writ, accounts of invocation and of prayer bearing in them a memory—so to speak—of David.

If in the Buddhism of China and Thibet—the “vast monastic order” founded by Gautama (Sakhya-Muni) (d. 543 B.C.)—we have a Paradise where Buddha (Amitabra) reigns, whose son, Kwaynin, is a future Buddha, who became incarnate to save and redeem mankind; Buddhism with its cardinal doctrines of renouncement, of detachment, of chastity, and the apostolic spirit, of the idea of a universal religion, offering a

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\* Early Veda or Varuna period = c. 1200 to 1400 B.C.

Middle “ “ Indra “ = c. 1400 to 1000 B.C.

Later “ “ Brahman “ = c. 1000 to 600 B.C.

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salvation to which all are called, I suggest the strength of evidence is gathering.\*

I need not refer to the Chaldean account of Creation, which is so similar to, though independent of, the Biblical one as to point to a primitive relation, nor to the account of the Flood contained in the seventh-century B.C. cuneiform copies of the original records, as old possibly as 2000 B.C. I will pass on to Greece.

Remembering that Phœnicians were at an early date in intercourse with the Jews, and that these navigators were in constant touch with the Achaian Greeks, we naturally look for Hebraic influences in their mythology. The general rebellion of the Giants, and their fall in consequence of the impiety, has its parallel in other old religions. But when we have Hephaistos forming the first woman out of earth, who by her charms and beauty should bring misery upon the human race; who let escape and spread over the world every human ill, Hope alone remaining—hidden, I believe; when again we read in Ovid of the Flood, originated by the gods in ire, for the destruction of the human race, from which in a ship he was told to build Deucalion, and his wife Pyrrha, alone of the human race, were saved—I do not affirm that any of these ideas, by themselves, prove man's recollections. But as a consensus they point unmistakably to the kind of evidence we would expect to find the history of religions constantly to reveal if we hold the historical writers I have cited as worthy of credence, in their shadowing of God's dealings with primitive man, and consequently of the hopes, however vague, pointing to some future fulfilment.

We have, therefore, at least got data for evidence that the primitive revelation, whether merely simple or complex, given to man was never absolutely eradicated from his consciousness, but carried with it a constant foreshadowing of a great completion, which, athwart the mist and wear of ages, re-asserted itself at various points, and under multiple forms capable of

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\* Buddhism gives us a parallel of the Magdalen in Upagupta; of the meeting of Jesus and the Samaritan woman, in that of Ananda, disciple of Buddha and the woman of the despised caste of the Tschandala—as related by Eugene Burnouf (*"Intro. à l'His. du Buddhism Indien,"* pp. 130-183). Buddha retired into solitude before beginning his preaching, and was tempted by the demon Mara, as in the Iranian books Zoroaster was tempted.



recognition. Can we go farther, and find any trace of a coming re-gathering of the threads of that revelation—a re-gathering to end in its fuller and more complete renewal? Nor is it merely a fanciful idea. Cardinal Newman wrote these memorable words in his “The Arians of the Fourth Century.”

There is nothing unreasonable in the notion that there may have been heathen poets and sages, or sibyls, again, in a certain extent, divinely illuminated; and organs through whom religious and moral truth was conveyed to their countrymen; though their knowledge of the Power from whom the gift came, nay, and their perception of the gift as existing in themselves, may have been very faint or defective.\*

It is an examination beset with subtlest temptations to hasty conclusions in which analogies are pitfalls. There is a very remarkable *exterior* resemblance between the Franciscans and certain Buddhist monks both as to rule and usages. In celibacy, poverty, the common life, preaching, apostolate, and prohibition of possessing money, they are outwardly identical. Yet when St. Francis founded his Order (1209–10 A.D.) the institutions of Buddha were absolutely unknown in Europe.†

M. Jacolliot, an opponent of Christianity, even pressed as an argument against its originality the close resemblance between the name of the Hindoo god Krishna, one of the bodily forms of Vishnu, and Christ. Unfortunately, Krishna means “Black,” and Christ “Anointed,” so the analogy was a very pretty pitfall indeed.‡ As pretty as the one Voltaire fell into over the Ezour Vedam, an Indian work extremely Christian in doctrine.

Voltaire [says Cardinal Wiseman] pounced upon it, as a proof that the doctrines of Christianity were *borrowed* from the heathens, and pronounced it a work of immense antiquity, composed by a Brahman of Seringham. But it turned out to be only 73 years older than Voltaire himself (1621–1694), and was the work of a Christian missionary, Nobilibus, nephew of Cardinal Bellarmin, and, worse still, a near relative of Pope Marcellus II. §

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\* Pp. 8–85 (1871).

† “Relation de Rubriques, ambassadeur de St. Louis aupres des Khan de Tartarie.”

‡ See also the errors as to the idea of a Trinity (I : Hi : Wei = Jehovah), and of a Redeemer, the Chinese missionaries were led into, exposed by De Harlez, “Relig. de la Chine,” pp. 7–10.

§ Ward’s “Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman,” i. p. 130.

It was coincidences, as Max Müller has called them, which led M. Havet\* to attempt to show that Christianity was a spontaneous transformation from Hellenism. A similar contention was made by M. Danyś.† So, too, the Delphic oracles have been advanced as the equivalent of the Hebraic prophecies; and Herr Seydel has devoted two *mémoires* to proving that the life of our Saviour is but a copy or imitation of the life of Buddha, the only original element in the former being His passion. The Abbé Huc's book, "A Journey to Thibet," was put on the Index because he mistook the outward semblance of Lamaism for the truth.

I will try to avoid these extravagances by asking you only to follow the analogies of *ideas*, and not the analogies of personality or event. The idea we can trace without confining ourselves to individuality or location; it is more lasting than either, and freer from pitfalls.

To make clear what I mean, I did not mention the legend of the birth of Pandora so much from its similarity to the creation of Eve as for the *idea* it contained. Pandora was to overrun the world with every form of misery, but a living Hope remained; that is, the *germ* of an idea of redemption for man from his misery. In the legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha and the Flood, the idea becomes complete; for in the midst of that terrible infliction the human race was redeemed from absolute final destruction by their sole survival; it was a redemption.

Mingled with gross and incoherent mythologies, with curious and ridiculous cosmogonies, the belief in a Supreme Being, either as organiser or legislator, judge or dispenser, and in a future life by itself, or attended with reward or punishment, stands out in the old religions in overshadowed but true relief. No less did the idea of sacrifice permeate the most ancient traditions, under a large variety of form and meaning, of course.

From the oldest traditions of the Indo-Germanic‡ before its separation M. Darmesteter, a Jew and a Rationalist, affirms that they worshipped a Supreme Being having some of the attributes of the God of the Jews; influencing the world, but, at the same time, part of it. So, too, from the oldest antiquity

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\* "Christianism et ses Origines."

† "His. des Idées et des Théories Morales dans l'Antiquité."

‡ In his "Essais Orientaux."

the Aryan and Semitic races of China, Egypt, Asia, and Europe adored a Supreme Being, whom they considered the greatest Power of the world; of wisdom, justice, and goodness; influencing life, rewarding and punishing. Of course these religions show many gods, but they are generally multiples or transformations of this one, and named differently.\* The idea also of a future life, partially obliterated, it is true, was under one of three forms constantly present in their religions, either as a shadow, or under punishment and reward, or in metempsychosis. This latter form, indeed, is scarcely a primitive tradition, it only appearing in Egypt in some monuments of a later time. In India it is in contradiction to the hymns of the early Vedas, and is only brought out in the later commentaries, when it became a favourite Brahmanistic doctrine.† In Greece it was unknown until the time of Pythagoras (flourished 540-510 B.C.). Whereas the concept of a retribution is very ancient, appearing in very old Egyptian monuments and in the Book of the Dead. So of Chaldea, so in the Fortunate Isles of Homer, and in Hesiod; the ancient Greeks giving three divisions of award, in Elysium, in the Underworld, and in Tartaros. In the Rig-Veda the fate of the good and of the wicked is also discerned.‡

As to sacrifice, it was sometimes merely homage or adoration, a sort of barter with the god, or even a repayment for him; but not infrequently its character is clearly expiatory. As expiation it postulates the existence of evil agencies, and the belief in evil spirits is extremely ancient. Of the belief in a former state of felicity, and man's fall from it, we have evidence of the highest antiquity. The tradition of a deluge is common to many people, especially in Chaldea, India, and Greece. In Egypt we have the destruction of the human race by the god Ra; something analogous to it in the Zoroastrian Zend-Avesta, and under Zeus in Greece.

But it is curious that though mankind had been acquainted with infirmities, these *old* traditions yield no trace of the idea of a Deliverer from the sorrows of existence. Neither in the India of the older Vedas, nor in ancient Egypt, nor in Chaldea, nor in the Greece of Homer, had the hope of man embodied

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\* Broglie, "Prob. et Concl.," &c., pp. 50-51.

† Schanz, "Chr. Apol.," ii. p. 38.

‡ Barth, "Relig. of India," p. 23.

itself in a Redeemer. It was not until about five or six centuries before the birthday of our Saviour that the cardinal point of Christianity was foreshadowed. About the time of the rise of Buddhism (450 B.C.), of the religion of Vishnu in India, in the cult of Krishna, and more distinctly in that of the founder of Neo-Buddhism, Guatama (Sakhya-Muni), it assumed a form and being more or less defined; and in the concept of Herackles it became concrete in the Greece of Aeschylus and Euripides. In India it had a virginal conception; Buddha descended from heaven, and was incarnated in the Princess Maya. His victories, like Zoroaster's, were moral ones. In Krishna, whose infancy was imperilled by treachery, the victories were physical, as over the demons sent to destroy him. In Herackles, the son of a god (Zeus) and a mortal mother (Alcmene), they were also physical, as in his victory over the robber Cycnus, or in his twelve labours.

As the primitive concepts weakened, or were less emphasised when being handed down from generation to generation, the monotheistic idea would become confused, until its decomposition advancing, by degrees Polytheism in its multiple forms became largely general. For there is in the human mind a tendency to multiply the media of worship, and to choose visible and tangible objects of religious veneration.

Yet parallel with this general decadence a certain moral and religious progress is traceable among many pagan peoples, especially among the Greeks. This advance is very marked in a comparative study of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

In the former the gods generally act on man chiefly by hurting or comforting his *body* in some way, and expect from him offerings of savoury food and wine. In the *Odyssey* we find a more spiritual conception. Olympus has become a shadowy far-off place, where the gods dwell apart. Zeus is now indisputably supreme. And the gods act not only on man's body, but also and *chiefly* on his mind and heart. (Jebb.)

The concept of Zeus as sovereign god, legislator, and judge became still clearer and more complete among the lyric poets, a fact particularly noticeable in Pindar. The *local* character of the cult was weakened by the formation of great empires, or by the religious, as well as political, confederations of the Grecian republics.

The Greeks, issue of a mingling of various races, became, so to speak, the line of demarcation between East and West, the latter predominating. Thus the religious ideas of Asia and of Egypt were in part adapted to their moral convictions. Hence resulted a curious association of contradictory gods and goddesses, all worshipped side by side, the same deity being worshipped under different characteristics and different appellations. The first elements of this theogony and its formation into a national religion we see taking place in Homer (? 1044 B.C.) and in the later Hesiod (? 850-800 B.C.), gathering a body of doctrine from confused traditions and local cults. In their hands, more notably Homer's, the transition from abstract divination of nature or natural forces to anthropomorphic deities was completed—deities with the ideals, sentiments, feelings, and passions of mankind. And so intimately did religion enter into the Greek mind that there was no action either of nature or life, no branch of the activity or genius of man, which was not under the control of a special divinity. In spite of its utter want of unity and harmony, which eventually proved fatal to its hold on men of thought, Euripides among them, it continued for 1200 or 1400 years to be the religion of the most fruitful, the most energetic portion of the human family.

## II.

In approaching the Attic drama we must divest ourselves of the notions associated with our modern use of the theatre. So late a writer as Strabo (18 A.D.) said, "the whole art of poetry is the praise of gods." And, as in the Hindu drama, that of the Greeks was derived from, and formed part of, their religious ceremonies. Their drama was a constitutional part of religious festivals. Both tragedy and comedy were acts of public worship. The place in which they were performed was sacred to a god, Dionusos, whose altar was the centre of the semi-circle of seats or steps. The performances were only held at three of the four Dionysiac festivals; at the lesser Dionysia, at the Lenœa, and at the greater Dionysia. A *new* tragedy could only be produced at one of the two latter. They lasted, through a succession of plays, from daybreak to sunset, before an audience of 20,000 to 30,000 people, sitting with

their backs to the Acropolis, and facing Mount Hymettos where it slopes to the sea. The most admired dramas were seldom repeated, never in the same year.

The susceptible Athenian, whose land was the dwelling place of Gods and ancestral heroes, to whom the blue sky in which he breathed, the swift-winged breezes which fanned his cheeks, the river-fountains, the Ægean, gay with countless sails, and the teeming earth from which he believed his ancestors were immediately created, were alike instinct with an all-pervading spirit of divinity; this Athenian loved the beautiful, but loved it because it was divine, and looked upon all that genius could invent or art execute as but the less unworthy offering of his pantheism.  
(Donaldson.)

In the train of Epic, Elegiac, and Lyrical poetry at last came the dramatic, first in tragedy then in comedy. The first exhibition of tragedy in Greece—merely a monologue with musical chorus—something like an oratorio—and a memetic dance—was given by Thespis at Athens in honour of Dionusos (535 B.C.). So rapidly did the possibilities of that form of religion seize upon the Grecian intellect, that Aeschulos, born ten years later (525-456 B.C.) carried it almost to perfection. Under him there were two actors and the choral song became secondary to the dialogue. The ethical value of his drama lies in a deep veneration for all that concerns the gods, high regard for the sanctity of an oath and the marriage tie; an idea of the immortality of the soul; and an appreciation of the sacred character of suppliants. What the austere grandeur of his genius left incompleted was perfected by the beauty of the art of Sophocles, thirty years his junior (495-405 B.C.). The drama of "this pious and holy poet," to use Schlegel's words, contains strong pleas for religion and morality, forcibly impresses the infallibility and immortality of God (*Antigone*) in contrast with man's weakness, ignorance, and liability to error. It is full of the beauty of piety and righteousness, and the danger and folly of impiety and pride. He added a third actor.

Though the Greeks had no models, yet, just as in England the tragic art was completely developed in the fifty-three years between Marlow's "*Tamberlaine*" (1537) and Ford's "*Perkin Warbeck*" (1634), so at Athens it was perfected in the forty-two years between 484 B.C., the year in which Aeschulos first



gained the tragic prize, and 442 B.C., when Euripides first won it.

Euripides was of another mould than his two great predecessors. He is much farther from Aeschulos and Sophocles than Sophocles is from Aeschulos. He represents a new order of ideas. Deriving his name from the scene (Euripus) of the first successful resistance of the Greeks to the Persian navy, Euripides, the last of the great tragic writers, was born in the Island of Salamis, on the day of that splendid victory (480), a battle in which Aeschulos fought, and which he so vividly portrayed in his dramatic song of triumph, the "*Persæ*." It was also at a festival in honour of this victory that Sophocles sang, a boy of fifteen. Like the latter, Euripides was highly educated, attending the lectures of Anaxagoras for Philosophy, of Prodicus for Rhetoric, and of Protagoras for Ethics. A successful athlete, he was also a painter, and a collector of books when they were a luxury. As a poet his writings so powerfully touched the spirit of his countrymen that Plutarch tells us that some of the Athenian survivors of the disastrous Syracuse expedition, which was to Athens what Moscow was to Napoleon, obtained their liberty or a livelihood by reciting and teaching such passages from his poems as they could remember. Tasso had no greater fame than this. The friend of Socrates, of Alcibiades, and of Archelæus, King of Macedonia, he was lashed by the envenomed pen of Aristophanes, his merciless political enemy. Menander took him as the model for the dialogue of his new comedy. Quintilian recommended him to the young aspirant after oratorical fame; and Philemon, in a moment, we must suppose, of transport, exclaimed, "If the dead had indeed feeling as some think, I would hang myself to see Euripides." Dante, without mentioning either Aeschulos or Sophocles, places him among the shades of the greatest poets of Greece; and it was of him that learned Ben Jonson said: "He is sometimes peccant, as he is most times perfect."

More rhetorical than either of his greater forerunners, lacking the lofty earnestness and sombre grandeur of the one, and the severe artist-restraint, the serene and perfect art of the other, he, with an exquisite eloquence and insinuating charm, introduced a philosophy into the dialogue till then unknown. In Aeschulos and Sophocles the idea of an over-ruling destiny



is everywhere predominant. In Euripides human passion is the ground-work upon which character exerts itself; resulting in a dignity sometimes amiable, occasionally grand. Recognising a divine retribution, he is more human though less great. As Sophocles said of himself: "I draw men as they ought to be, Euripides as they are." He is pathetic rather than robust, tender rather than strenuous, fascinating than ennobling. His attitude towards the Gods was sceptical rather than comprehensive, full of doubt and reservations. He had the wit to seize their fallacies, the penetration to unveil their falsities. Nevertheless, lacking the power of constructive strength, he guessed more than he discovered of the latent religion which lay encrusted by their ceremonies.

For him the narrow and gloomy region of legend, national and Achaean, faded before the bright and picturesque knowledge which strangers brought to Athens. Business or pleasure gathered them from the Aegean Islands, from the coasts and cities of Western Asia and the Euxine, from Sicily, Cyrene, and Southern Italy, from Massilea on the Celtic border, from Tartessus near the bourne of the habitable world, from the semi-barbarous Cyprus and from the cradles of civilisation, Egypt and Phoenicia. It was a time when Athens was ceasing to be inferior to Corinth in wealth and commercial enterprise; or to Sparta in war and allies. (Donne.)

It is because Euripides was thus a sceptic under cosmopolitan influences that I have chosen one of his plays in preference to, say, a Promethios of Aeschulos, who lived in the severe and simple Marathonian times; or of an *Ædipos* of Sophocles, both religiously minded poets; the more forcibly to show his unconscious witness to the ineradicable memory in man of a primitive revelation, and as a factor in foreshadowing the completer revelation which was to come.

If Euripides forsook the Gods and god-like heroes it was to attach himself more nearly to man, his joys, his sorrows, his tireless yearnings, his sleepless hopes. By habit of mind he was contemplative, by association prone to speculate on natures, human and divine. So that Vitruvius not inaptly called him the "Scenic Philosopher." Speculation and rhetorical display were then in the air.

The imaginative epoch of Aeschulos was departing, the scientific age of Aristotle was only approaching, and the analytical mind of Euripides was alert with the tendencies of the time. But it has been sung

In ancient days the name  
Of Poet and of Prophet was the same.

It need not surprise us, therefore, if this sceptic of the old Gods, who thought them criminals, and pierced their incongruities, should have conceived for himself the necessity of a Redeemer for humanity, one so far superhuman as to triumph over death, and remain in touch with mankind even from beyond the tomb.

The *Alcestis*—that “strangest, saddest, sweetest song of his”—the oldest of his extant plays, was performed as a Satyrical Tragedy at Athens (438 B.C.). Satyric not in our sense of the word, but a tragedy accompanied by a dance performed by persons in the guise of satyrs. Thus to the seriousness of tragedy it added the merriment of the country satyrs who sang the chorus. For this reason, together with its happy ending, it was called a tragi-comedy (at that time an innovation of Euripides), although it draws deeply on one element of tragedy, pity. The most exquisitely pathetic of all his extant plays, in it he touches the highest morality his pieces inculcate.\* It reveals the beauty of marriage. So touched was Chaucer by it that he made Admetos and Alcestis the King and Queen of Love, under Venus. But in Euripides it is not the King and Queen, quâ such, as De Quincey would say, but the husband and wife, who hold our sympathy and excite our admiration.

The legend upon which it is founded was one of Northern Greece, probably derived from the East.

Admetos, King of Pheræ, in Thessaly, lay ill of a disease from which there was no recovery, doomed by the Fates to death. Apollo prevails on them to grant him reprieve if he can find a substitute to die for him. His own father and his mother, though aged, decline the self-sacrifice. Nor has he a single friend who will accept it. His wife alone, Alcestis, will give her life for his ransom. The play opens with Alcestis' day of doom at hand; Death waiting at the palace gates for his prey. The parting from husband, children, and household follows in a very touching scene. To use Euripides' words: “And her children, hanging to the garments of their

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\* Schlegel, pp. 395-6. Donaldson.

mother, were weeping; but she, taking them in her arms, embraces first one, then the other, as being about to die immediately." And note this—I am again quoting the exact words of the play—"throughout the house all the domestics were weeping, lamenting their mistress; but she extended her right hand to each, and there was none so humble whom she did not address, and by whom she was not spoken to in reply." The position of women, especially of slaves, had seriously deteriorated since Homeric times; the condition of the latter having become merely that of chattels. This feeling of affection between master or mistress and slaves was, therefore, most uncommon. But Alcestis' idea of human life and human service was above, and more ennobling than, that of ordinary minds. By this single touch Euripides at once deepens our sense of her worthiness, and heightens her as an Ideal. She being dead, Heracles, the most powerful of mortals, but not yet a demi-god, arrives as a guest. He is on his way to perform the eighth of his twelve labours, the capture of the mares of the Thracian Diomedes, which fed on human flesh, or, to follow the *idea* rather than the *circumstance*, to free human nature from bestial appetites. As he takes supper in the house he learns the cause of the sadness there. He determines upon rescuing Alcestis from the shades. Already in her grave, Death is making preparation for a ghoulish feast upon her corpse. Heracles engages with him, and compels him to release his prey. He restores the devoted wife to her faithful husband.

As I have already said, the idea of a redeemer had scarcely seized man's mind with convincing force; so, as we should expect, the redeemer of the play is not the principal character. Euripides has centered the interest in the action of Alcestis. Living or dead she commands the scene: marking with all the force of his genius the beauty, the power, the lasting beneficence of her sacrifice. And this is the more emphatic and remarkable when we remember that it was a time when, and before an audience to whom, a man's lawful wife was scarcely more than his cook and housekeeper. To heighten the worth and profoundness of the sacrifice he endows the victim with every noble, tender, loving quality, and this in spite of his being a misogynist. As Una in the first book of

the "Fairie Queene," Alcestis stands apart from and above all the characters in the piece. For, note, it is not an ordinary sacrifice—it is a vicarious one. It bears that one distinguishing characteristic which is the supremely distinguishing characteristic of our redemption—it is vicarious.

The rite of sacrifice, whether of homage, of submission, or of expiation, held a most important and significant centre in the religion of the Greeks. As with other nations, the Greeks did not choose their subjects of sacrifice haphazard. They never chose them from free nature. Nature growing of or by itself could not be used as a victim. Only that which man had taken by force or produced by care; or that which he had brought into the human sphere. Again, with the Greeks the *blood* was the seat of the soul and of life. Hence it was the highest gift offerable to the deity, in gratitude for favours received. But the blood was also the root and seat of sin, whose expiation therefore was made by blood. As a special grace, the deities sometimes allowed the substitution of a stranger blood for the personal one. Generally this substitution was by animals dear or valuable to man. The shedding of the blood was the essential part of the sacrifice; the burning or consummation of the victim was mostly ceremonial. The vicarious sacrifice of Alcestis, therefore, was the highest and most complete sacrifice that could be made—the greatest and most acceptable price that could be invented and paid for redemption. And not only did she give her blood, for she gave her life, but she substituted herself rather than an animal. In the substitution of animals they were, of course, involuntary victims; but she was a voluntary one. Hence does she truly say it was even

a death of the spirit rather than the body;

and, therefore, it was sublime. She insists upon this point, and with justice, for while involuntary human sacrifices were, of course, anything but uncommon, voluntary ones were exceedingly rare. I can only recall one in historical times, that mentioned by Athenæus, of Cratinos of Athens, who offered himself a voluntary victim for the purification of the town under Epimendes. Indeed, we learn from another of the plays, "Iphigenia in Aulis," that down to the time of

Euripides human sacrifices were not a Greek but a foreign usage.

And, remember, the drama was given in honour of a god, Dionusos, the enemy of everything that can darken or deaden the vital spirit of man. The sacrifice was, therefore, made to him. Now he and Demeter were associated in the mystic doctrine with the idea of a life after death. But the usual offering to Dionusos was one of goats. How unusual, then, how supreme, how far-reaching was Alcestis' offering, not only in itself, but by contrast and superiority! The redemption she achieved for those she loved was the effect of pure love, and was the most perfect in her power to offer.

Is it going too far to recognise an analogy in the idea?

Less heroic than Antigone or Electra, she is nearer human nature. Under all conditions and duties of life her one great quality is lovingness. It permeates and blesses all her surroundings. The action of religion on the Greek mind was continuous, and touched their lives at all points, so that public and even private prayer—at first words usually out of Homer or Orpheus—was fairly general. But their prayers were less a means of moral purification or sanctification than for some temporal benefit, the escape from consequences or from death. Later the idea grew, for example, in Pindar and Aeschulos, that virtue and moral qualities were the gifts of the gods. Then they became the object of prayer. Socrates invokes the Supreme Being for inward, *moral* beauty. Callimachus of Alexandria, in his hymn to Zeus, begs for *virtue* and riches. And so Alcestis, full of faith in the efficacy of prayer, prayed, not for herself, but for her children; for those she had created. And, though freely willing to die, she had her great agony. She felt the whole weight and strain of the immense sacrifice she was making. Though conscious of the blessing it would bring, yet she sustained an acute agony in wrenching one by one the ties that bound her to humanity. Though her faith was heroic, though heroic in her resolves, she was pre-eminently human in her feelings. Her virtues were active, not passive ones.

Her sacrifice had two results. She purified, she elevated him for whom the sacrifice had been made. Not only did Admetos from a weakling become strong, but he actually

co-operated in her sacrifice. For she obtains his promise, with truly feminine humaneness, that he will never have any other love but her, that he will sacrifice all love, and remain a widower by a sort of counter, if paler, sacrifice.

But Euripides conceived a further idea than this surpassingly noble one of vicarious sacrifice—that of a redeemer who should not merely save in the ordinary sense, but should redeem by a triumph over death; who should rob death of its sting; who should revolutionise, so to speak, the very idea of death. Not only was the redemption of Admetos aimed at, but the superhuman result that through death a resurrection from the grave should be brought into man's consciousness. It is this working out of an older tradition—of a tradition not then ripe for complete fulfilment—that makes him a witness to the ancient and signal promise of a deliverer for the human race.

This we have in Herackles, the only other prominent character in the play. Although having a divine father and a human mother, he was not a god, but was among the heroes what Zeus was among the deities. As a child his life was attempted. He became the ideal of men. Always a conqueror, he devoted his whole existence to the cause of others; and dying, he shared the honour and worship pertaining to the gods. Eminently he had the very characteristics of omnipotence and universality belonging to the higher gods, even more fully than most of them. In Asia, Egypt, Lybia, from Gades to Scythia, his fame was known. Greece was covered with temples to him who united the two attributes of divine and human.

Admetos, at first much too bound to earth to be able to rise to the height of Alcestis' nobleness, wanting in wisdom and magnanimity, was schooled in sorrow to a finer issue of repentance. This is significant. The King's character certainly heightens, and is purified through suffering; he is a nobler man. He is, in fact, effectively redeemed through the vicarious sacrifice. The effect of sorrow in subduing the selfishness of Admetos, the beauty of pain which the Redemption was, four hundred years later, to teach Christianity, is soon apparent. Herackles, on his first arrival, seeing the grief in his house, wishes to go elsewhere; but Admetos will

not hear of it. He thinks of his guest's solace rather than of his own immediate comfort. From a selfish man he becomes a generous one. Nor is this a small thing, for it is evidence of the purifying effect of sorrow, and it had a lasting result. It was his first step in his co-operation of sacrifice. He hid from his guest the true terribleness of his own grief rather than be ungrateful for the hospitality he had himself received from Herackles when on "the thirsty soil of Argos." It was this spirit of sacrifice in Admetos that gained for him the reward of his wife's resurrection from the grave. Herackles expressly says it was for this he determined upon Alcestis' rescue. Thus, as *her* sacrifice expiated the effects of the disease from which he was dying, *his* sacrifice brought about her redemption from that death.

And this spirit of sacrifice is again most clearly emphasised. Herackles having gained the victory over death, brings back Alcestis, *veiled*, to Admetos, who does not recognise her. Herackles asks him to protect this woman in his house until his own return. Admetos, too loyal to the memory of his wife, and fearing ill-repute for this supposed friend of Herackles, declines her guardianship. It is evidently meant as a cleansing trial, one more sacrifice before his final reward, for Herackles presses her upon him. But he is proof, for he is now "in love with grief." Its ennobling, purifying power has girt his soul, making strong his spirit. He renews the co-operation of counter-sacrifice he had promised his wife.

Finally, lest he incur the displeasure of Herackles, he consents to guard her :

Thou hast prevailed, but much against my will ;  
Thou dost constrain me, King, against my wish.

Bidden to unveil her he recognises the victory over death, the resurrection from the grave, the life after death. As yet she is speechless, and must remain so till "the third morn return."

As their redeemer bids them farewell, having other deliverances to accomplish, Admetos begs him to abide with them. "This shall be hereafter," he replies ; and this promise of future life is his last word in the drama.

In gratitude for the redemption Admetos orders sacrifices



and thanksgivings: "For we are transformed to a better state of life than previously," I am quoting literally, "for I will not deny that I am happy."

And the chorus concludes all with these words:

Thus God

To these hath given an end, exceeding thought.

A word as to the god Apollo, who obtains the privilege of substitution, whose idea the vicarious sacrifice was. The attributes of the gods were many, and sometimes even contradictory. As Apollo offered so many analogies to Pallas he came to be regarded as her masculine personification; and was thus the God of Wisdom, the God of Light, and the God of Moral Law. In an ancient hymn to him cited by Thucydides, it is told that the gods rose from their seats as he came near. In Apollo, too, we have a uniform identity of will, a unity of counsel and of mind, with the Supreme Being, Zeus: He is, in fact, the only God in whom this very remarkable manifestation appears. He administers powers which are otherwise the specific and exclusive properties of Zeus. He is the Defender of Heaven and the Deliverer of Mortals. He is never excited by personal passion, and is one of the three gods to whom, in general, prayer is directly addressed; Zeus and Pallas being the other two. His epithet in Homer is "The Pure." In addition to this was his pre-eminent knowledge of the future; he was the God of Prophecy. And he exercised this gift at the very opening of the drama, in which he foretells to Orcos, the priest of the dead, the coming of a deliverer.

Such a man shall come . . . who . . . shall by force take this woman away from thee.

So Euripides himself, at the very outset of his piece, emphasises the central idea I have endeavoured to draw out. This redemption was no fortuitous incident, but a conception deliberately developed.

The idea of everlasting reward in a future state is beautifully intimated in this play. Upon Alcestis' death the chorus sings (I again give a verbatim translation so as not to distort the text):

. . . By far the best woman, farewell! May Mercury that dwells

beneath the earth and Hades, also receive thee favourably; but if there, also, any greater favour is shown to the good, partaking of this, mayest thou sit by the bride of Pluto.

Which, no doubt, will, if only faintly, remind you of the Catholic prayer for the dead, "In paradisum conducant Te, Angeli." That, again, is no chance thought, for it is the faith that buoys Admetos up. Once more a literal translation of his words:

My friends, I consider the fortune of my wife happier than my own, even although these things do not seem so. For, indeed, *no grief shall ever touch her*, and with fair fame she has ceased from many troubles.

It is only an adumbration: I do not claim it as more. But it seems to point to the fact

that the Hellenic portion of the Aryan family had for a time preserved to itself in broad outline no small share of those treasures of which the Semitic family of Abraham were to be the appointed guardians on behalf of all mankind, until the fulness of time should be. \*

Coming from the mind of a highly educated sceptic I submit it is the flower of seed sown by the breath of God among primitive man; a flower whose full fruition was to come, four hundred years later, on the hill of Calvary.

The pieces of His revelation had been scattered: He had begun to gather them together again.

MONCRIEFF O'CONNOR.

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\* Gladstone, "Juv. Mundi," p. 288.

## ART. VIII.—THE KINGDOM OF THE HEAD MASTER.

1. *Life and Letters of Edward Thring, late Head Master of Uppingham School.*
2. *Some Observations of a Foster-Parent.* By JOHN CHARLES TARVER.
3. *Debateable Claims: Essays on Secondary Education.* By JOHN CHARLES TARVER.
4. *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons.* Par EDMOND DEMOLINS.

WE have before us some books treating of topics connected with Secondary Education. Of these, Mr. Thring's *Life* describes the second founder of Uppingham, with his racy, vigorous talk, perhaps preserved in some cases on subjects rather too minute and domestic, but still giving us a good deal of insight into his methods and ideals. Mr. Tarver, an Eton boy and King's man, was afterwards an Assistant Master at Clifton, and sometime, we believe, Head Master of a Grammar School. In the "*Foster-Parent*" he deals in a number of essays chiefly with the Schoolboy; and in "*Debateable Claims*," besides some historical matter largely drawn from Mr. A. F. Leach's book on "*English Schools, 1546-48*," he discusses several points mainly as they concern the Schoolmaster. In his two books, if we may say so at the outset, he contributes a singularly sane criticism and defence of liberal education. Our debt to him will be apparent throughout. M. Demolins' book, judging from the reviews, and the fact of a translation being announced, has made a considerable impression. The writer describes, in order to condemn, French and German methods of education. He desires to praise English ways; we hear, indeed, that he proposes an imitation of these for French boys. But we must confess that we should have liked an appreciation of some acknowledged place of education beyond an agricultural college and two small private schools.

We propose to review some features in the Public School System which are either under discussion, or in contrast with the usage in our Catholic schools. It is scarcely necessary to say that the object in view is not controversial but critical, to set out simply facts or views without advocacy. The duties of parents in regard to their children's education have been repeatedly and unmistakably defined, and the obvious distinction has been sharply drawn between the training of the boy, which must be throughout in a Catholic atmosphere, and of the young man, which, being designed to prepare him for intercourse with non-Catholics during the rest of his life, may be completed in a University. Hence it is hoped that to dwell on some problems rather from the point of view of the Public Schools may be useful as a basis of comparison, and can hardly be misunderstood. If in what follows we appear to prefer parts of other systems to those in vogue among ourselves, it is a speculative not a practical preference. We are far from suggesting any rash adaptations. In all organisation and teaching there is waste of force. The inevitable deficiencies of every method happily tend to correct themselves in actual working. It is a dangerous experiment to tamper with a traditionary system which people can manage with the certainty of long familiarity. At the same time, we may recall Mgr. Ward's point in his paper\* at the Catholic Truth Society's Conference of 1897, that our School Methods, at least in their origins, are tinged with French influences; and we may suggest therefore that those responsible for them should from time to time consider whether all their details have been adequately readjusted to our present conditions.

When we look at the position held by a Head Master we are struck by a difference expressed in the very title. We have Rectors or Presidents. The Head Master is what his name implies, and he discharges more or less the duties which are with us divided between a President, a Prefect of Discipline, and a Prefect of Studies.† The advantages aimed at

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\* Report, p. 75.

† English Head Masters have secured a curious distinction. It is illustrated by their biographies, by the old type of Schoolmaster Bishops, by pupils whose fame is reflected back on their Master. It is rare to read an old Public Schoolman's reminiscences without finding expressions of regard and awe for his Head Master. Westcott, Lightfoot, and Benson recall Prince

in the divisions of functions are obvious enough. It is a convenience to be able to appoint a man who may not be a practised teacher, but who can organise and direct. Again, a Prefect of Studies can be chosen from mainly intellectual considerations. And independent officers of punishment may be supposed to secure the impartiality which comes from having no concern in the offence.

There is, however, a case for greater unity of administration. The old-fashioned Head Master was literally the chief teacher. The difference between large and small schools lay not so much in the Head Master as in the Assistants. The Head of a small country school was often a distinguished man, though with only an indifferent usher or so to support him. But then the clever boys came under him young and left with his stamp upon them. In a large school the Head taught to much the same extent, but he was better seconded, and the boys came under him later. We believe that Archbishop Tait, succeeding Dr. Arnold at Rugby, first introduced the now almost universal Head Master's Assistant, who relieved him of the Sixth Form Composition. No doubt with a vast increase in the size and organisation of schools, Head Masters, even aided by Secretaries, find it impossible to be chief Teachers in the old sense. Perhaps it is a step back. Thring, as we all know, fixed 400 as the absolute limit of a school's numbers. However, the principle of the Head not only superintending and checking by examination, but himself taking part in the teaching, seems a sound one. What we want to secure is influence over boys, and that is got by contact; and no contact is so close and so continuous as that between teacher and taught. If the control of the boy is divided between a number of people, each severally responsible for a department of his life, there is a risk that the boy as a whole is neglected: at any rate the Head, who is primarily concerned, loses an important opening if he does no teaching. It is not necessary that he should do the highest teaching. One great Head Master confines himself to the backward boys; another we know teaches high Mathematics and Science and a low classical Form. Most Head Masters have an Assistant, and confine themselves to reading a

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Lee; and Dr. Arnold's Old Boys formed almost a sect at the University and elsewhere.

book or taking the Ancient History and Divinity with the Sixth. It does not appear to be necessary that he should have served an apprenticeship as an Assistant Master. Some of the most successful Schoolmasters went, like Thring or Arnold, from clerical work; some, again, direct from the University. No doubt to teach and supervise the studies of a school demands some definite academical attainments; but one may venture to suggest that these are the best guarantee for a Head maintaining the balance of interests in the school. Recognised and adequate attainments help to secure his hold over his Assistants, and through them he gains an independent sphere of influence with the boys. Ultimately, one would hope that a boy would look to his Chief as the friend who taught him lessons of faith and conduct, which have stood him in good stead through life, but this relation is best based on an intellectual debt.

Besides being chief teacher, the Head Master holds the supreme criminal court, to which offences beyond the cognisance of the lower tribunals are transferred. He is not simply an officer of punishment, but the duties of the Prefect of Discipline, so far as they are not discharged by the boys themselves, are divided between him and his Assistants. In most schools (though with some notable exceptions) he alone uses the *argumentum ad baculum*; and, generally speaking, gross or repeated offences, whether of idleness or insubordination or morals, come by report before him. The advantage of our Prefect System is that one secures a prompt and impersonal administration of minor forms of corporal punishment, whilst the worry of mere discipline is taken off the Teachers. The Rector is in reserve as a Court of Appeal.

But, on the other hand, if the object is, as it should be, to keep down the quantity and mitigate the kind of punishment, it may be doubted whether promoting ease of infliction is the best method of securing it. In punishment, it is important to realise the responsibility for what is done, and this is most simply effected when there is no intermediary. When there is direct and full knowledge of the offence on both sides, the impression made on the boy is keener, and so the punishment may be less. Mr. Tarver,\* in an interesting chapter on the

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\* "Foster-Parent," c. xxvii.

subject, points out that in well-managed schools there is, and need be, exceedingly little corporal or severe punishment of any kind. We venture to suggest that the reason of this is, that punishment is made as little mechanical as may be. Once you are able to lighten penalties, the process tends to grow; for the rarer a penalty is, the more it strikes the imagination, and the more effective it is as a deterrent. We remember a master whose personal force enabled him so far to dispense even with impositions that, when he once set a boy fifty lines, the fact was circulated as a portent. After all, this matter comes round to the old point, that division of labour means diminution of personal influence. A Schoolmaster, if he is to comprehend his charges, must play many parts. No doubt men thus many-sided form in a measure a class by themselves. Certainly successful Assistant Masters are sometimes less fortunate as Chiefs. But, if the various qualities of Teacher, Organiser, and Disciplinarian really belong to the office, to divide them is to deny to the right man his legitimate sphere, and to mutilate the office itself.

An objection against the centralisation involved in the conception of the Head Master, as distinguished from a Rector or President, is that the school falls too much under one man. The stronger the Chief the more he impresses his own individuality, with its limitations as well as its excellences, on the school. A domineering and all-pervading personality tends to gather to itself all the interests of the place. Such a man is jealous of rivals, and quenches the enthusiasm of others, who are hampered by his activity. The remedy for this is a counter-weight in the shape of Assistants able to hold their own. To this question of the position of Assistant Masters we may next turn our attention.

To prevent their undue displacement by the predominance of the Head Master is a difficulty. It is specially evident in the smaller public schools, in which the gap between Head and Assistants is widest. Generally speaking, the men are young, often of only moderate University distinction, and hold positions which are essentially temporary. In the great schools, though there is not much difference from the small ones in the nominal tenure of Mastership, the Assistants have so large a stake in the place both in salary and prospects, are themselves often so



near in age and power and experience to the Head, that they inevitably secure a status and influence which seems impossible in the other schools.

There are three remedies at present proposed and discussed for increasing the efficiency and improving the position of Assistants—namely, Appeal against dismissal, Registration, and Training. As to the first, it has not much application to our schools. Speaking from what one knows of public schools, we should say that the tendency was far more towards forbearance than caprice. A Head Master is slow to dismiss an inefficient colleague, partly from not always completely realising how bad may be his teaching and discipline, partly from dislike of changes which upset boys and Masters. At any rate we have known a number of cases of very great tolerance. Thring,\* however, was not averse to Masters, other than House Masters, having an appeal: he insisted on House Masters being subject to six months' notice without reason given, trusting to their position and influence as adequate protection against tyranny. But as to the general practice, he said: "A Head Master will do almost anything rather than proceed against an Assistant Master. It is like breaking your windows and letting in the storm on a winter's night." And even Thring himself, his biographer conjectures, carried out his principles less vigorously in practice than he expressed them in theory.

It is difficult to suppose that Registration can make any difference to Public Schools practically recognised as such. In the great schools the standard of a Mastership is practically equivalent to that of a Fellowship; and in all something beyond graduation at Oxford or Cambridge is required, either in the shape of Honours, or knowledge of Modern Languages or of some special subject. The question, which can only be settled by experiment, is whether it will give greater professional coherence to Teachers, so as to eliminate the men who take up a Mastership merely for a year or two. But then the smaller and poorer Public Schools would be less well staffed. So-called amateurs—that is, men not finally committed to teaching—are the best material available for schools which offer no prospects. If such schools were confined to people who mean to make teaching their life-work, they would

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\* "Life," i. pp. 333-5.

get a lower type of men, who might be more efficient possibly in a narrow sense; but the boys surely would lose in those wider interests and sympathies which make so much for true education.

Mr. Tarver\* desires that men should have made up their minds to become teachers by the time they begin their University course, and should offer themselves for a special examination to this end, after about half their course, leaving enough time to specialise on some one branch in which they would graduate. They would thus be certificated in two groups.† The objection he sees, is that a man who thinks he has a chance of a Fellowship would not destroy it for the sake of a Mastership. We are not convinced by his argument of the two subjects. We should maintain that the specialist—though the term is unfortunate to describe a classical scholar—has received the training which best develops his mental force, and that, besides being an expert in one set of subjects, he is quite adequately equipped in knowledge, and fully competent in method, to teach some other subject. The Oxford Classical Schools imply a preparation for teaching ancient history, and a general acquaintance with historical methods, sufficient for all but very special history work.

Our own impression of the effect of Registration is that from the necessarily low minimum which can be exacted—the utmost seems to be a B.A. Degree *plus* some Pædagogics‡—a status will be given to a number of persons to whom at present in practice it is denied. No doubt in time its true value would be fixed. But we much question whether it will even tend to stamp out “Private Adventure” Schools. Such schools depend on precisely that vicious parental control which Mr. Tarver denounces.§ So long as there are parents who have not themselves enjoyed much education, and despise all knowledge which is not demonstrably wage-earning, there will be men quite able to qualify as teachers, and prepared to flatter their clients’ prejudices. Such parents swallow eagerly the interested depreciation of places “hidebound in tradi-

\* “Debateable Claims,” c. xiii. p. 251.

† *Ibid.* p. 249.

‡ Cf. “Debateable Claims,” p. 252, for the waste of time spent on studying “Pædagogic Literature,” so far as practical teaching is concerned.

§ “Foster-Parent,” c. xvii.; “Debateable Claims,” pp. 262-3.

tion," which can only teach "dead languages" and are out of contact with "the realities of life"; whilst the Preceptors who undertake to equip boys for modern requirements, readily devote themselves to feeding and amusing, rather than to the more troublesome task of educating, their charges.

The third point in regard to Assistant Masters, their technical training, we approach with some diffidence. Many authorities, Catholic and Protestant, have declared for it and taken it in hand. The daily Press regards any hesitation in regard to it as mere academic conservatism. Before we are committed to a large, expensive, and, above all, to a compulsory system of training, it will be well to measure what training may be expected to do, and how far its absence in secondary education has been a misfortune. Hitherto only elementary teachers have been systematically trained—that is, men who have themselves been taught in elementary schools, and, having passed on to be Pupil Teachers, finally receive in Training Colleges a further education more or less directly bearing on their future work. In the result\* "they have perfected the mechanism of Instruction." But what does this amount to? the ability to keep large bodies of children in order—much energy being expended in repressing† mere restlessness—together with some methods of communicating, clearly and rapidly, information which the children can reproduce. The whole object of a Training College is to turn out Teachers competent to handle masses of children; but large numbers can only be taught simple subjects at a slow pace, the pace being regulated by the capacity of the dull children. Now these conditions totally differ from those of secondary education for children of the same age. As Mr. Tarver points out, the standard of attainment at thirteen, the age of entry to a Public School, is vastly higher than that of a boy leaving an Elementary School. When Scholarships from Elementary Schools to Grammar Schools—the ladder from gutter to University—were first founded, it was necessary to protect the boys from open competition; and, speaking from a recollection of one large North Country town, the standard was lower by two years; the boys under fourteen from Elementary Schools offered no more than other boys of ten or eleven.

\* "Debateable Claims," p. 107.

† *Ibid.* p. 111.

Assuming the brain power to be equal, the difference is explained by the greater individual attention devoted to the boy destined for secondary education. He begins with a French Nurse or Governess, then he goes to a Preparatory School\* in which the classes are small; this enables him to learn difficult subjects comparatively quickly. By the time he is ready to enter a Public School, he has a considerable knowledge of Latin and French, some knowledge of Greek, a good knowledge of Arithmetic, and he would have begun Algebra and Euclid, besides having an acquaintance with what Mr. Tarver happily terms "Recreative Subjects," such as History and Geography. The only points in which the Elementary School-boy would approach him would be, perhaps, Arithmetic and English; of the costly and difficult language subjects he would know hardly anything. Moreover, if we look beyond positive knowledge to habits of mind, to power of work, to general aptitude, the comparison would be more unfavourable still to the Elementary Schoolboy. Mr. Tarver† gives an instructive instance of an approach to Board School methods, in an examination which he conducted at a Grammar School, in French and German. Faultless work was turned out, but work, as he reported, not worth doing. The boys displayed mere mechanical rote-learning, pointing to admirable drill, but yielding no education: just the work which an examiner for Entrance Scholarships pounces on as valueless, his object being to pick out boys with brains which they can use themselves, not which have been crammed by others. It is not too much to say that the Board School boy learns no methods of work. It is the penalty of the sort of teaching which is inevitable when dealing with large numbers of young children.

It would seem, then, that such technical training as has been tested by experience yields little useful analogy for secondary education, as the latter is and has been understood. This, of course, assumes that we assign to secondary education the subjects which have hitherto formed its staple, and in the same proportions to one another—viz., that the basis of education is the study of Latin and Greek, with a sufficiency

\* Cf. "Foster-Parent," p. 85.

† "Foster-Parent," p. 200.

of mathematics, a modern language, and some recreative subjects for boys up to, say, sixteen, and that then the boy specialises according to his bent and future.

Now, on this assumption we may raise the previous question, whether Assistant Masters have been hitherto untrained. Mr. Tarver \* points out that, so far as discipline goes, the so-called trained men often fail, to wit, Drill Sergeants; and he predicts pretty confidently that the Elementary Schoolmaster would fail also if turned into a Public School Classroom. The "raw lad" from University succeeds because he knows the rules of the game, and the boys are conscious that he knows them. It must be remembered that school discipline is a matter of conventions. It would be perfectly possible to arrange an iron system which would work with the precision of prison life. M. Demolins † describes the grim existence in *Le grand internat* as resting on this sort of discipline. Mr. Tarver explains that a boy's life may be so filled with occupations that there is no space for mischief. Boys' spirits may be broken; their combination destroyed. If these conditions prevailed, no doubt the art of keeping in order could be reduced to rule and taught in as few lessons as a prison warder may require for mastering his duties. We should have what M. Demolins describes as "*un régime scolaire parfaitement approprié à former des fonctionnaires civils et militaires.*" And we may take his witness that among the boys would be found "*l'absence d'initiative, l'attitude de l'obéissance passive, l'uniformité des sentiments et des idées.*"

The accepted system in England gives boys so much liberty that order is the result of an understanding between boys and Masters. The boy who goes through a Public School catches insensibly the relationship; he himself gradually rises to positions of responsibility; he becomes an instrument—a very important instrument—of discipline, so much so that the discipline of the school, out of teaching hours, may be said to be administered through the boy prefects. He goes to the University and finds, in a subtler way than at school, the same rule of give and take, of subordination asserted as little as possible by force. What he could do

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\* Cf. "Debateable Claims," pp. 105-115.

† "A quoi," &c., p. 7.

at school by an order he has to do in his college by tact. Then he goes back as a Master, perhaps to his old school. He makes mistakes. He gets hints from his colleagues or his Chief. He watches their methods; he finds what standard of order they exact: how they manage with little punishment. Possibly he has something approaching to a scene with his form, and he resolves that, come what may, that shall not recur. So by a happy combination of "moral and dramatic faculties"\* he gets the knack of managing boys under the conditions of what is, after all, a common life. Any one who has been Master at a Public School knows the closeness and kindness and forbearance of the criticism, that helps a newcomer to find his feet. Now, however informal this training may be, it seems absurd to deny that it *is* a training. Because a man is aware that he has learnt a great deal in his first years of teaching, it does not follow that he could have gained this knowledge without actual contact with the facts of school-life. Discipline, we venture to say, so far as it is the development of innate potentialities, depends simply on experience; its maxims are "hewn from life."

However, the main scope for training is not in discipline, but in teaching. How far is an Assistant Master untrained here? Much of the denunciation of Public Schools is directed against a past now reformed. Owing to the rapid growth of schools their organisation was dislocated. Thus one got overgrown Forms like the Lower Fourth of upwards of forty boys described in "Tom Brown," or the set of ninety with which William Johnson† was confronted at Eton. Schools were under-manned, as Charterhouse‡ in T. Mozley's time, with eight Masters to nearly 500 boys. These deficiencies were sometimes met in odd ways by Boy-Masters. Thus at Charterhouse promotion depended on the boy successfully teaching a Lower School Form for six weeks. Mr. Greville§ describes the late Mr. Justice Maule, as a boy of thirteen, alternately teaching and caned in a Preparatory School. Men like Thring, who insisted on twenty-five boys as the limit of number for a Form, aided by the pressure of the new Public

\* "Debateable Claims," p. 111.

† *Ibid.* p. 80.

‡ T. Mozley's "Reminiscences," i. p. 170, *seqq.*

§ "Memoirs," 1st series, ii. p. 101.

Schools, have put this point, at least, to rights. Often even the less wealthy Public Schools are now staffed with a Master to every twelve or fifteen boys.

At the same time, it is not difficult to do too much for boys. The old-fashioned schools, no doubt, professedly did too little. Still, they put the boys under first-rate men, without making their day a mosaic of engagements, and they preserved a great deal of fresh and vigorous intelligence, which might probably have been forced to a fatal precocity under modern pressure. Mr. Tarver remarks that the danger of Clifton was over-organisation. The senior boys, from being very well looked after, lacked spontaneity in arranging their work when thrown on their own resources; whilst the best point of the Eton system was the large freedom which was left to the Sixth. We suspect that an examination of Fellowship statistics would confirm this.

Again, a good deal of the demand for training seems to rest on a confused idea of the object of teaching. Such a book as Sir J. G. Fitch's "*Lectures on Teaching*" prescribes methods much more for interesting boys, for persuading them to listen, for rapidly inoculating them with information, than for increasing their working power; and this, after all, is the proper end of education. No doubt such methods have their use, but chiefly, we should say, for the recreative subjects, with which, indeed, he is chiefly concerned, as being, no doubt, of primary importance to his audience. Teaching history to small boys is very much a question of being able to amuse them. Their attitude is totally different from that in which they address themselves to a Latin Exercise. In the former they listen or reproduce their recollections; in the latter they work for themselves, and bring into play many faculties besides memory and attention. If the old linguistic drill is to remain the basis of education, if the demands it makes on the boys' own efforts, the thoroughness and exactitude of mind which it inculcates, secure its use as the serious instrument of training, then the cry should rather be for men of sufficiently high powers and general cultivation, than for men technically trained. It may sound a paradox, but the question is as much one of defective knowledge as of method.

People probably realise very insufficiently the sort of positive



knowledge requisite for even elementary teaching of Latin.\* We remember a friend who gained the highest classical honours at the University, and was afterwards recalled from school work as Fellow to his College. He went to teach the lowest Form in one of the smaller Public Schools. After a term he was asked how he got on. He said that he never omitted to prepare his work. Before hearing his Form (boys of an average age of thirteen) a Cæsar lesson, he carefully looked out the genders and genitive cases of all substantives, the principal parts of the verbs, and marked doubtful quantities. His account was quite serious. He realised in a way that inferior men cannot, the necessity and difficulty of clean-cut prompt knowledge. Any one can test the matter for himself, by trying to recall sharply what parts of a deponent verb are active in form, what parts passive in meaning, or to give a satisfactory explanation of "Gerundial Attraction." A week's experience reveals to most of us unexpected ignorances and mistakes; because it is one thing to know in a way which will satisfy an examiner, another to produce immediately the right answer amidst the confusion of boys' blunders. The misery is that inferior men will not condescend to their own infirmities. What the boys suffer from is not their masters' ignorance of Froebel, but their inherent fogginess. No boy has convictions on grammatical points. He takes all on authority of books and teachers, and he reproduces faithfully their slovenliness. This need of mental grasp and imagination in the Teacher is perhaps most clearly seen in teaching boys to write Latin. Examine a Form taught by an inexperienced or half-educated man; you will find in the boys no distinct notions of syntax, wrong values for mistakes, more often the whole subject will have been shelved as far as possible. The best teacher is taxed in launching small boys into the sea of Final and Consecutive Clauses, of mysterious constructions like the Accusative and Infinitive, of the double agreement of the Relative.

So much for the negative aspect of the question. The strongest positive argument against a large and practically compulsory scheme for training teachers is that it will tend to

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\* Cf. "Foster-Parent," chaps. x. and xi.

give them a professional character. No doubt to many persons this is its chief advantage. But taking schools as they are at present, with Forms reasonably limited in size, with a curriculum which, excluding certain special subjects, demands men of high education rather than of special methods, schools, too, served with an admittedly high standard of devotion on the part of the Masters—in such circumstances we maintain that everything necessary is secured by careful selection in the first instance, and a probationary period during which probation is a fact. This ideal, so far as one can judge, is very much what has prevailed in the past, and not much more is being attempted by Head Masters at present. A man is appointed provisionally, either for a term or year; and, whilst he is thus inchoatively on the staff, he spends some of his holidays in being lectured on teaching. Whether this theoretical part has a high practical value may be disputed. It is at any rate not a very prominent feature. What we deprecate is a large scheme which would modify in any essential point the existing University training for professional men, with its present indistinctive character. In its indistinctiveness, we believe, lies its safety as against a narrow professionalism. If very determinate preliminaries are exacted, many men who ultimately turn out valuable Masters will be repelled. Thring was of opinion that clerical work was a valuable preparation for a Mastership. It was in Parish Schools that he claimed to have learnt his best lessons in teaching. The less the teacher is marked off as a member of a caste, the better for his status, his prospects, and, as we think, for his efficiency.

It remains to point out the relevance of this discussion to our own schools. In the first place we are confined to schools of the type which Thring disrespectfully labelled as "Barrack Schools"—that is, the boys are under one roof, not divided amongst Boarding Houses. This simplifies the task of finding Masters in one way, because we are not obliged to have House Masters. It is perfectly possible to staff a school with men who will stay long enough to do good energetic work, and will move on before they grow jaded or stale. But a school needs a permanent element, and this we look for in the Priests who are responsible for its general conduct.

Then, again, we minimise one besetting difficulty of the

Public Schools, their enormous expense.\* This is largely incurred in connection with the Senior and Boarding-House Masters. Now this part of our equipment is provided in most cases, especially in schools managed by Religious, at practically cost price. Hence, without pushing up fees ruinously, it is possible to secure small Forms and plenty of individual teaching. Mr. Walker, in his speech at the Apposition Day last year at St. Paul's, attributed the triumphant success of the school in late years to the comparative smallness of their Forms. Of Lay Masters, where they are required, a fairly steady supply may be hoped for in the future from Catholics who resort to the Universities.

Finally, it would seem that we ought to develop our existing resources, rather than import mechanical devices for turning out well-informed boys or artificially-trained teachers. The most precious and the least definable possession of a school is its "tone."† This depends, says Mr. Tarver, on the fact that boys and masters alike belong to families able to give them time to observe life before practically engaging in its struggle. The Masters "unconsciously maintain among their pupils, or impart to them, aptitude for refinement in the best sense of the term." In other words, pupils and teachers form a homogeneous body. Such a large fact as the government of India by a Civil Service drawn mainly from the Public Schools‡ Mr. Tarver claims as their sufficient justification. And in the same way one may feel that there are facts which evidence such a life in our Schools as should lead us to exercise great care lest we damage that sensitive plant, a school's Traditions.

R. B. S. BLAKELOCK.

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\* At Uppingham, which Thring carefully distinguished from the "fashionable schools," whose fees might properly be "very much higher," the charge for boarding and tuition amounted to £110 a year: this would mean a total cost of from £130-140.

† "Debateable Claims," pp. 240, 241.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 144.

## Science Notices.

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**The Bristol Meeting of the British Association. The Presidential Address.**—Almost on the very eve of the meeting of the British Association at Bristol a local catastrophe occurred which threatened to completely upset the well-organised arrangements that had been made for the reception of the Parliament of Science. This was the complete destruction by fire of the Colston Hall, in which not only the President's address was to have taken place, but the lectures and other gatherings. But the local committee was equal to the occasion, and the exceptionally large meeting of 1898 may certainly rank amongst the most successful efforts of the Association. The tropical weather which prevailed through the meeting did not tempt the scientists to curtail the business of the sections, though it added considerably to the enjoyment of those members who sought recreative science in the excursions, and still lighter diversion in the garden parties. The Presidential address was delivered in the People's Palace, a palatial building, which did good service in place of the Colston Hall.

Seldom has a Presidential speech evoked such expectation as that of Sir William Crookes; for it was generally surmised that so subtle a philosopher, so fertile an experimenter, and so imaginative an expounder might present on this occasion a vivid picture of the scientific possibilities of the twentieth century. It was not surprising therefore that when the President commenced his oration by gloomily presaging the advent of a world-wide bread famine in the year 1931, that a depression overcame his eager auditors, who only breathed again when he promised that from the laboratory would arise a deliverer, that the chemist would be able to burn the air, and by fixing nitrogen would produce in abundance the nitrates necessary for dressing our cornfields and raising the productiveness of the acre from 12·7 bushels to 20 bushels. The long catalogue of statistics quoted by the President in favour of his views have met with no little criticism, but even if the world-wide bread famine is more distant than he has calculated, the suggestion of fixing nitrogen from the atmosphere and producing cheaply nitrate of soda is worthy of the attention of agricultural chemists, who, from the experiments at Rothamsted, have realised the

improvement on the yield of wheat when the fields are dressed with the nitrate of soda.

The remainder of the speech dealt with some of the latest discoveries of the day, the low temperature researches of Professor Dewar occupying a prominent position, and deservedly so, since "the investigation of the properties of bodies brought near the absolute zero of temperature is certain to give results of extraordinary importance." Sir W. Crookes suggests that matter brought within the influence of a temperature of absolute zero may realise his theoretical fourth state of matter, "Since what we call matter essentially involves a mode of motion, and since at the temperature of absolute zero all atomic motions would stop, it follows that matter as we know it would at that paralysing temperature probably entirely change its properties." Although a discussion of the ultimate absolute properties of matter is purely speculative it can hardly be barren, considering that in our laboratories we are now within moderate distance of the absolute zero of temperature.

The Röntgen radiation has a special fascination for Sir W. Crookes, since it is the child of his own researches in high vacua. He dwelt upon some of the most recent advances in this important subject. One improvement mentioned is the adoption of Professor Silvanus Thompson's suggestion of using for the anti-cathode a metal of high atomic weight, osmium or iridium being successfully used—in fact, osmium anti-cathode tubes are now a regular article of manufacture. As long ago as 1896 Sir W. Crookes used X-ray tubes with metallic uranium anti-cathodes. But there is a difficulty in obtaining metallic uranium. Experiments have also been made with thorium anti-cathodes.

Professor Röntgen has lately drawn new attention to the fact of the non-homogeneity of the rays, and the dependence of their penetrating power on the degree of vacuum, rays generated in high vacua having more penetrative power than when the vacuum is less high. Röntgen calls a low vacuum tube which does not emit the highly penetrating rays a "soft" tube, and the tube in which the exhaustion has been pushed to an extreme degree, and wherein exist the highly penetrative rays, a "hard" tube. It has been previously supposed that there is a relation between density and opacity to the rays, but the investigations of Benoit have found discrepancies; for the opacity of equal thicknesses of palladium are nearly equal, whilst the densities and atomic weights are very different, those of palladium being half those of platinum.

Professor Cox and Callendar devised an apparatus for measuring the velocity of the rays, and found it to be greater than 200 kilometres per second.

Majorana has made an independent determination, and finds the velocity to be 600 kilometres per second, with an inferior limit certainly of not less than 150 kilometres per second. The President, however, thinks that it will be eventually found that, like the cathode rays, the velocity of Röntgen rays are not less than 10,000 kilometres per second.

An important investigation is that of Dr. H. Rieder, of Munich, who states that bacteria are killed by exposure to the radiation from a hard tube. Thus the radiation may turn out to be a potent means of disinfecting, though it must be remembered that light rays have also been found to kill bacteria, and there are possibilities in the use of powerful artificial light for the disinfecting of infected apartments and materials.

With regard to the fact that some bodies, such as uranium and thorium, give out rays closely allied, if not in some cases identical, with those of Professor Röntgen, recent researches of Dr. Russell tend to show that every substance possesses the ray-emitting power, for it has been found that most substances affect the photographic plate if exposed in darkness for a sufficient time. Another fact akin to this mysterious subject is the discovery by M. and Mdme. Curie, of polonium, the new constituent of the uranium mineral pitchblende, which, like uranium, emits a form of energy capable of impressing a photographic plate and of discharging electricity by rendering air a conductor, but in its case the power is intensified four hundred fold. Sir W. Crookes points out that the radiant activity is excited without the aid of light and electricity. Polonium, like uranium, draws its energy from some constantly regenerating and hitherto unsuspected store exhaustless in amount. Important practical results may follow in the future from a knowledge of these radiations. "The total energy of both the translational and internal motions of the molecules locked up in quiescent air at ordinary pressure and temperature is about 140,000 foot pounds in each cubic yard of air. Accordingly, the quiet air within a room 12 feet high, 18 feet wide, and 22 feet long, contains energy enough to propel a one-horse engine for more than twelve hours. The store drawn upon naturally by uranium and other heavy atoms only awaits the touch of the magic wand of Science to enable the twentieth century to cast into shade the marvels of the nineteenth."

The address included an account of the President's recent discovery of the new element he has called monium, and it was by strenuous exertions on his part that he was able to bring forward this proof of the value of a new and fascinating method of research. It was only within a few weeks of the opening of the meeting that this new member

of the rare earth groups was added to the list. The discovery has resulted from the work of eighteen years on the fractionation of yttria. Amongst the group of rare earths giving phosphorescent spectra in the visible region, there are others giving well-defined groups of bands which can only be recorded photographically. Sir W. Crookes has detected and mapped no less than six such groups. In the investigation he started with a large quantity of a group of the rare earths in a state of great purity, and applied a particular method of fractionation, splitting the earths into a series of fractions differing but slightly from each other. Each of these fractions, phosphorescing in vacuo, is arranged in the spectrograph, and a record of its spectrum photographed.

Thus with different groups of the rare earths is recorded the several invisible bands, some being moderately strong, others exceedingly faint. Selecting a portion giving a definite set of bands, he applied new methods of fractionation, constantly photographing and measuring the spectrum of each fraction. Sir W. Crookes tells how he spent weeks of hard experiment in vain, without effecting any separation, and how he devised method after method until success was obtained. The isolation of monium is thus described: "High up in the ultra violet, like a faint nebula in the distant heavens, a group of lines was detected, at first feeble, and only remarkable on account of their isolation. On further purification these lines grew stronger. Their great responsibility cut them off from other groups. Special processes were employed to isolate the earth, and using these lines as a test, and appealing at every step to the spectrograph, it was pleasant to see how each week the group stood out stronger and stronger, while the other lines of yttrium, samarium, ytterbium, etc., became fainter, and at last, practically vanishing, left the sought-for group strong and solitary." Because of the solitary position of the group of lines showing the existence of the new member of the rare earth class, Sir W. Crookes has called it monium from the Greek *μονος* alone.

Monium is an interesting element, since it has a strongly marked individuality, and appears capable of entering into a large number of chemical alliances. Sir W. Crookes, however, has reserved further details for "that tribunal before whom every aspirant for a place in the elemental hierarchy has to substantiate his claim."

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**The International Magnetic Conference. Temporary Magnetic Observatories. The Magnetic and Electrolytic actions of Electric Railways.**—The affiliation of the International Magnetic



Conference with the Mathematical and Physical Section of the British Association has undoubtedly done much to further the tendency to hold international conferences on important scientific questions. Such conferences can be more usefully handled by such well-developed machinery as directs the meetings of the British Association than by independent organisations, and the International Magnetic Conference may be pronounced a decided success. The British Association is a gainer in more ways than one by being the host of foreign members of international conferences. Besides affording the opportunity of public discussion of scientific questions in conjunction with sections of the Association that are allied to the subject in hand, it also secures social intercourse between distinguished foreign scientists and those of these Isles, and such friendly relations are not without their use in advancing knowledge, since many occasions arise for the informal discussion of scientific questions and interchange of thought.

It would have been difficult to find an abler president for such a conference than Professor Rücker. In his opening address, while he advocated the importance of cosmopolitan science generally, he brought forth special and cogent reasons for international co-operation in the study of terrestrial magnetism.

"The advance of some sciences is most easily achieved by the methods of guerilla warfare. In a hundred different laboratories widely separated workers plan independent attacks on Nature. In different universities and colleges little groups are devising stratagems and arranging ambuscades in the hope of wresting from our great opponents some of the treasures that she takes from them by force. But for those who would unravel the causes of the mysterious movements of the compass needle concerted action is essential. They cannot, indeed, dispense with individual initiative, or with the leadership of genius, but I think that all would agree that there is urgent need for more perfect organisation, for an authority which can decide not only what to do but what to leave undone."

Professor Rücker pointed out that the advance of the science of terrestrial magnetism has to depend upon the establishment, maintenance, and the utilisations of the records of observatories, but such a work demands proper organisation, and especial care must be taken as to the suitable choice of a locality for an observatory. "It is wasteful to devote to the multiplication of observatories in regions of which we know much, energy and funds that would be invaluable if applied to districts of which we know little or nothing." Another advantage of international co-operation is the publication of the records of the observatories in such a form as to be ready for application to the

problems, the solution of which they are intended to subserve, and that the individual workers should not be worried by insignificant differences in the nature of presentment.

The programme of the Conference was mainly confined to the discussion of four points. The first two of these referred to the methods for calculating and publishing the means of the magnetic elements which should be adopted. It also included a discussion of the relative merits of long and short magnets, the establishment of temporary magnetic observatories, and the practical and urgent question of the interference of electrical tramways and railways with the working of magnetic observatories.

M. Rykatchew read the excellent report of General Rykutcheff and Professor von Benzold on the establishment of temporary observatories, especially in tropical countries. The report urges their need, and mentions that in some cases in Russia the observatories have ceased to be temporary and have become permanent. The purport of the report was upheld by Professor Schuster, who spoke of their value with regard to the diurnal variations in the northern and southern hemispheres. It is known that currents under the earth cause diurnal variations, but to what extent is at present unknown. Professor Schuster thinks that a temporary observatory should be allowed a period of eleven years to decide these questions.

Considerable funds are needed for the erection and maintenance of such observatories, and it is a matter for consideration how the necessary grants can be raised. Will governments provide them; or are they to be obtained from the liberality of scientific societies who already have abundance of claims on their beneficence? M. Mascart thinks it will be wiser to enlist the sympathy of societies than to build up hopes on possible government aid.

A suggestive paper was contributed by Dr. A. Schmidt on "Secular Variation of Magnetic Elements." He advocates making observations at various fixed parts of the globe, and suggests that the ships of the navy might be used for taking such observations. Captain Creek, however, pointed out that cruisers were not of much use for such work, as the greatest point of secular change was about the middle of the South Pacific, and it would be necessary to send wooden ships to make proper observations.

The magnetic and electrolytic actions of electric railways was discussed by the International Magnetic Conference in conjunction with the mathematical and physical section and the mathematical science section. The progress of electric locomotion has become the bugbear of those concerned with magnetic observatories, but it has been

realised that it is useless to check its development, and that steps must be taken to meet the difficulty.

Dr. C. A. Schott, who opened the discussion, described how two magnetic observatories in America had been rendered quite useless by the disturbance caused by electric railways. Professor Rücker gave instances of disturbances produced by the City and South London Electric Railway, which rendered magnetic instruments useless at distances of half a mile, two and three-quarters, and three and a half miles, respectively. Dr. Eschenhagen, who described the action of earth currents on the Potsdam observatory, stated that measurable disturbances could be recorded at a distance of ten miles from the railway.

It was generally agreed that the important point on which to insist is the insulation of the return circuits. Mr. Preece pointed out that it is unfair to use the earth as a conductor, since it is common property, and should not be used by one person to the detriment of another. Professor Silvanus Thompson advised the use of alternating currents. Professor Rücker reminded the meeting of the suggestion that to get rid of the effects of magnetic inductions, the distance between the outward and return conductors should not be greater than the one-hundredth of the distance from the conductors to the observatory. This suggestion has been adopted at the Kew observatory, where the railway and the observatory were 1100 yards apart, the result being that the fifth place of decimals was only just affected by the railway. These conditions have been adopted in the Parliamentary bills relating to electric railways, and it is a matter for consideration to what distance the conditions were to be insisted upon, having regard to the fact that new electric railways are less offensive in their effects than the earlier one.

A new danger has ensued from the advent of electric railways. That is the electrolytic corrosion of gas and water pipes by the earth currents. Professor Flemming gave his opinion that in the case of street railways with an uninsulated return circuit no amount of bonding of the rails would entirely prevent these earth currents which might be gathered by gas or water pipes. The danger of corrosion of such pipes appears to be greatest when they extend for some distance parallel with the rails.

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**Xenon.**—In the chemical section Professor Ramsay and Dr. Travers described Xenon, the newly-discovered constituent of the atmosphere. It is the companion of krypton and metargon in the last fractions of

liquefied argon. It is easily separated on account of its higher boiling point. It remains after the other two gases have evaporated, and is the heaviest of the three gases. The spectrum of Xenon is analogous to that of argon, though the position of the lines is different. With the ordinary discharge, the gas shows three lines in the red and five brilliant ones in the blue. With the jar and spark jet the lines vanish, and in their place there are four brilliant lines in the green intermediate in position between the two groups of argon lines.

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**Seismology.**—In a note in the July Number of the DUBLIN REVIEW of this year, on "The Recording of Unfelt Earthquakes," I dwelt on the valuable seismological work now being carried on throughout the world. The third report of the Seismological Committee, presented by Professor John Milne in the Meteorological Department of Section A. of the British Association Meeting of this year, emphasises and illustrates this important work. The report consists mainly of a series of valuable records taken with various instruments, which support the present working hypotheses on which seismological science is based, and at the same time they point out the new directions in which observation of fact may be expected to elucidate the hidden laws of action.

In Paper V., under the Characteristics of Earth Motion, Professor Milne considered the direction of seismic waves, the length of the waves and of the preliminary tremors with their velocities, and the concluding vibrations. He gave the caution that, so far, in spite of much suggestive data we can have no confidence in wave length calculations made within five or six miles of an origin; and in considering preliminary tremors, of which our present knowledge supplies a rough working rule for calculating the distance of an origin from an observing station, he suggested that "the duration of the preliminary tremors are more directly connected with the depth of a wave-path rather than its length, as represented by the arc of a great circle. Trial, however, shows that the duration of preliminary tremors is not proportionate to the length of the chord, along which it may be supposed the movements travelled, or to its maximum or average depth," and he drew from a table of calculations "that the duration of preliminary tremors in minutes is, for the given ranges, nearly equal to the square root of the average depth of the chord expressed in kilometres."

In considering "the period of earthquake waves at great distances from their origin," some records of seismograms made with different

instruments in Italy, Isle of Wight, and at Potsdam, indicate that both preliminary tremors and large waves increase in period with travel, and whatever the first period of the wave when it has travelled a distance of a quarter of the circumference of the earth, its last period is twentyfold the first. Professor Milne, however, pointed out that in considering these records and bearing in mind the variety of instruments used and at different stations, we could not be certain that the comparisons made were always of similar phases of motion.

Perhaps the most interesting section of the report was Professor Milne's paper on "Certain Disturbances in the Records of Magnetometers and the Occurrence of Earthquakes." The conjoint observation of magnetic and seismic waves is a fascinating field both for observers and experimentalists; in this connection Professor Milne pointed out that what was wanted was a determination of the effects of artificial earthquake-like motions on magnetic needles, and of real earthquakes on non-magnetic bars so suspended that their motion was identical with that of magnetic needles upon the same supporting bar. He stated that, in his opinion, until such a series of experiments had been exhaustively investigated, we could not say for certain that magnetic waves accompany seismic waves. A mass of records of various instruments favour such a supposition, but do not supply mathematical or experimental certainty.

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**The Relation of Sunstroke to Meteorology.**—There were many fatal cases of sunstroke in the British Isles during the recent heat wave. The note on "Sunstroke and Meteorological Conditions," which appears in the October number of the Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society, is therefore most timely. It mentions that the chief of the United States weather bureau, in his recent annual report, refers to the study made by Dr. W. F. R. Philips, of the meteorological conditions associated with the occurrence of sunstroke.

In August, 1896, information was solicited by a circular sent out in the States to trustworthy quarters, and it appears that during that month no less than 2038 deaths occurred, which were directly attributable to sunstroke. This is an unusually large figure, and accepting the usually stated ratio of cases and deaths, the number of persons who suffered must have been something like 12,277. It appears that the number of sunstrokes is in close relation to excess of temperature above the normal, and that it is not governed by other meteorological

conditions such as the relative humidity, atmospherical pressure, wind or rain.

An attempt was made to ascertain what degree of temperature favours sunstroke. The statistics available seem to show there is empirical evidence that each locality has for its acclimated inhabitants a peculiar sunstroke temperature or range of temperature, and for adopting as a provisional index of the sunstroke temperature the normal daily maximum temperature of each climate. This provisional standard applied to the cures of sunstroke, as reported in the cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Washington. In New York 96 per cent. of the cases were found to occur with daily mean temperature equal to, or slightly in excess of, the normal maximum temperature for August. In Boston and Philadelphia 91 per cent., and in Washington 77 per cent. of the cases occurred under like conditions of temperature. From the investigation the conclusion has been drawn that sunstroke becomes imminent during the summer months, when the mean temperature of any one day, or of successive days, becomes equal to the normal maximum temperature for the period. At such times, therefore, precaution is most desirable.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Dr. Sven Hedin in Central Asia.\***—The Swedish explorer's narrative of his wanderings in Central Asia embodies noteworthy geographical results. Out of an aggregate mileage of 6520, or more than a quarter of the earth's circumference, 2020 miles were through regions never before visited by a European, while over the remaining 4500 miles he had in some places been preceded by one traveller, in others by two, but nowhere by more than three. His scientific attainments enabled him to map his route on sheets that measure 121 yards in length, and his acquaintance with the Jagatai Turki language gave him the power of conversing directly with the natives and dispensing with an interpreter, and thus of recording a vast number of geographical names, none of which have hitherto appeared on any map, European or Asiatic. The interest of his journey was enhanced by his deviation from his original programme, so that instead of following a through route across Asia, he made several halting places for a series of subsidiary expeditions. Thus, after crossing the Pamirs in the winter and spring of 1894, he made Kashgar a centre for a fresh expedition to the Roof of the World in the summer and autumn, and in the same way, after crossing the Takla-Makan Desert in the summer of 1895, made Khotan his base for an independent journey to the Lob-nor before finally leaving it for the long route to Peking, in June 1896. On the Pamir region, the scene of his first explorations, his remarks are interesting. Their central district is an area of internal drainage, consisting of two basins, the Kara-kul and the Rang-kul. The former is a saline lake, 13,000 feet above sea level, with a depth of 756 feet, enclosed by mountains, some of which tower 4000 feet above it. The Rang-kul, at a height of 12,240 feet above the sea, marks the lowest level of the depression, which has an aggregate drainage area of about 2100 square miles. In the border regions of the Pamirs where the streams flow outwards towards the interior of the continent, the scenery is of a far wilder character, and the rivers are enclosed in places between vertical walls forming deep troughs or cañons. Some of these gorges are traversed by the nimble-footed Tajiks with the help of pegs driven into the cliff walls, by which

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\* "Through Asia," by Sven Hedin. London: Methuen. 1898.



they are enabled to clamber over with heavy burdens lashed on their backs. Several attempts by the Swedish traveller to climb Mus-taghat, the hoary giant of the Eastern Pamirs, towering 25,600 feet high, though defeated in their immediate purpose, resulted in a series of valuable explorations of its peaks and glaciers.

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**The Buried Cities of the Desert.**—An unexpected discovery rewarded Dr. Sven Hedin's crossing of the Takla-Makan Desert, the great western extension of that of Gobi, in which he nearly lost his life, and where two of his followers actually perished. This area, which he entered twice, is covered with sand dunes, increasing in height towards its centre until they are 200 feet in height with steep sides, presenting a great obstacle to swift progress. It is a region of absolute death, in which no sign of animal or vegetable life can be detected to break the outlines of the mountains of yellow sand that fill the entire field of view. The breakdown of the camels necessitated the abandonment of all camp furniture and supplies, and the traveller, in the end completely alone, dragged himself rather than walked to the Khotandaria, whose course was marked by a line of forest along its banks.

The visit to the buried cities was made in January 1898 in a separate trip to the desert from Khotan, after a preliminary exploration of the site of Borasan within three miles of that city. Here various antiquities, such as terra cotta figures, gems, coins, and engraved stones are annually discovered when the floods sweep away the surface soil, and Dr. Sven Hedin gives many interesting reproductions of these objects. Captain Deasy, however, the latest explorer of this region, tells in his letters to the Royal Geographical Society that a flourishing trade in the manufacture of modern imitations has sprung up in Khotan, and is now one of the main industries of that place. The approach to the buried cities was through a region of sand dunes like that previously traversed, and the proximity of the first reached was indicated by a dead forest, of which "short tree stems and stumps, grey and brittle as glass, branches twisted like corkscrews from the drought, and sun-bleached roots were all that remained." The ruins consisted of the skeletons of hundreds of houses, all of poplar wood, scattered about without any traceable alignment or plan. Most of them were built on an identical model, and consisted of a small square or oblong within a larger one, divided into several rooms. Posts six to ten feet high, projecting from the sands, and brittle as matchwood, marked the site of those houses, but greater part of the area covered

by them, from two to two and a half miles in diameter, is buried under dunes, and only in intervening spaces were they visible. Some remains of walls were found still standing to the height of about three feet, and these proved to be formed of bundles of reeds tied together, bound to stakes, and then plastered over with a coating of clay mixed with chaff. The plaster was decorated with mural paintings representing kneeling female figures with hands clasped, and hair raised in a knot on the top of the head, or men, bearded and moustached, of Aryan type and dressed like modern Persians. Plaster figures of Buddha were also found, and various ornamental fragments, such as friezes or cornices in the same material. Traces of gardens could be discerned, and indications that plums and apricots had borne fruit in this desert. The secret of the city's ruin lay in its abandonment by the stream that had irrigated its orchards and turned its mills. The dead forest tells the tale that here once flowed a branch of the Keriya-daria, which later, with the tendency common to all the streams in this region, shifted its bed farther to the east. Dr. Sven Hedin conjectures the city to have had an antiquity of 1500 years, and, since it was of Buddhist origin, to have antedated the Arab invasion led by Kuteybeh Ibn Muslim in the eighth century.

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**Hydrography of Central Asia.**—Dr. Sven Hedin shows good grounds for his belief that he has settled the most perplexing problem of Central Asian hydrography, that of the basin of the Lob-nor, by him called Lop-nor. The first European to reach it was the great explorer, Colonel Przhevalsky, who visited it in 1877 and 1885. But the lake as described by him not only lay a full degree of latitude to the south of its position as marked on Chinese maps, but was a freshwater expanse, a fact absolutely inconsistent with its character as an enclosed drainage reservoir of old standing, in which the earth salts necessarily accumulate from age to age. The Swedish explorer set himself to elucidate this interesting mystery on the lines suggested by the great geographer, von Richthofen, and was rewarded by finding in the true place of the lake on the Chinese maps its shrunken remains in a quadruple basin choked with reeds and segmented by projecting arms of land.

That this basin had had at one time a much greater easterly extension was proved both by the chain of salt lagoons extending from it in that direction and by the belt of forest, whose growth and decay follows the retreating waters, the outer zone of dead trees being succeeded by one of full-grown timber, while saplings and shrubs of tender

years mark the actual shore of the lake. The present condition of the latter is, however, one of recovery, as until nine years ago it was completely dried, and Colonel Przhevalsky was right when he disputed the existence of any lake in this region on the site where the Lob-nor appears on the Chinese maps.

The double sheet of water, on the other hand, to which he gave that name, has undergone considerable shrinkage since his visit. One of the lakes, on which he was able to make a boat journey of several days' duration, afforded Dr. Svan Hedin space for but two short days' navigation, much impeded by reeds; and a fishing village then existing has been abandoned owing to their growth. The second basin which, when seen by the earlier traveller, formed a sea-like expanse with its further shores invisible, has left only an insignificant residuum close to its western boundary, and the alluvial deposit which has accumulated in the remainder is in summer already overgrown with grass, affording pasturage for the flocks and herds of the natives.

We have thus found [says the author] that the quadruple Lob-nor of the Chinese has become refilled with water during the last nine years, whereas during the last twelve years the southern Lob-nor has dwindled to a series of shallow marshes. Is not the conclusion, therefore, not merely justified, but even forced upon us, that the two lake systems are mutually related in an extraordinarily close and intimate way; or, in other words, as the northern Lob-nor increases, the southern Lob-nor decreases, and *vice versa*?

He then goes on to prove by various indications that the lakes of the southern group are of recent formation, and cites in support of this view the freshness of the water and the absence of forest, which in this region invariably tracks the life-giving element, from their banks. The reeds, on the other hand, form a jungle so thick, that it is only by narrow pathways kept open for fishing that navigation is feasible, and in some places it was actually possible to stand on the tangled mat formed by their surface with ten feet of water below.

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**Wild Yak, Ass, and Camel.**—The yak is essentially a mountain ox, nimble as a goat, capable of withstanding the lowest temperatures, and driven, in the genial warmth of summer, to fly to the neighbourhood of the glaciers, and take snow-baths on the powdery expanse of the *nevés*. His shaggy mantle is proof against cold, and the woolly fringes of his sides form a cushion beneath him when he lies upon the frozen ground. In outline he resembles the American bison, as his rounded shoulder slopes upward from his low quarters and stooped

lowering head. The mountains of Northern Tibet are its haunt, and here it is found in sufficient numbers to form the prey of hunters, by whom it is shot for its hide, which furnishes the most durable and impermeable leather.

The khulan, or wild ass, is another creature specially adapted by its organisation for living at high elevations, as its great chest capacity and width of nostril enable it to inhale deep breaths of the rarefied atmosphere, and thus take in sufficient volume of air to counteract its tenuity. The specimen shot by Dr. Sven Hedin is described by him as intermediate between the horse and ass, and somewhat resembling a mule. The mane and tail are like those of the humbler animal, the ears a compromise between the two, and the hoofs as large as the horse's. In colour it was reddish-brown, passing into white underneath, and it has the asinine stripe on the back from mane to tail.

The wild camel is, unlike the yak and khulan, a denizen of the plains, and its favourite haunt is the most remote and inaccessible part of the Desert of Gobi, where it lives on the vegetation found in the depressions and river beds, but avoids the forest and thick undergrowth in which its view would be restricted. They are very shy, the scent of a fire being sufficient to start them on a run of two or three days. Their tame congeners they hold in peculiar abhorrence, and, according to the natives, detect the marks of their servitude even when unloaded, in the peg and cord in their nostrils, and in the chafing and flattening of their humps from the pack. The tame beasts, on the other hand, manifested great excitement at their approach. The most apparent difference between them is in the firmness of the humps of the wild variety, which do not wobble with its movements like those of the domesticated animal, from which, however, they are believed to be descended.

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**Agricultural Experiments in the Sahara.**—The work of the South Algerian Agricultural Society in creating and developing three oases in the region of the Wad Rir' in the Constantine Sahara is the subject of a communication by M. Georges Rolland to the National Agricultural Society of France. Although the date palm is the principal object of culture, the raising of inter-arboreal crops has been a secondary subject of study by the society, and the substitution of the plough drawn by mules for the spade in turning over the soil round the trees, has in the first instance saved half the cost of the operation. The Wad Rir' has an abundant flow of subterranean water,

and irrigation is, of course, the prime factor in cultivation, as the date-palm, in Arab parlance, must stand with "its feet in the water and its head in the fire." Plants associated with it must, therefore, be able to accommodate themselves to the same hydropathic treatment. Barley and lucerne, used as forage for horses, mules, donkeys and ostriches, are the crops commonly grown, with the fig, apricot and pomegranate, though these give but scant return. Many experiments in the acclimatisation of other fruits have been unsuccessful. The vine perishes in wet soil that nourishes the thirsty palm, the banana pines in the parching drought of the atmosphere. Potatoes, peas and beans, forage and fibre plants, have been tried in vain, the salinity of the soil and water, or the torrid heat of summer, proving fatal to them, while of forest trees the eucalyptus alone will grow, after being carefully nursed through the early stages of existence. The most brilliant exception to this negative result is asparagus, the Argenteuil variety, planted in 1892, having been found to thrive admirably with couch grass as its only formidable enemy. It is said to be of excellent flavour, and it is possible to cut it for from twenty-five to thirty days of each season. Its carriage to France is the remaining difficulty to be overcome before it takes its place as the earliest raised for the French market. Transport to Biskra on the edge of the desert takes two days, thence to the Algerian towns two more, and a like period from the port of Philippeville to Marseilles, making it nearly a week on the road from the oasis to Paris. Some method of packing to retain its freshness is required before it can be exported with success.

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**Villages in Western Tibet.**—Mr. Shawe, in an interesting address to the Manchester Geographical Society, on January 26, 1898, gave some interesting details of the culture practised by the Ladakis or people of Western Tibet. The country consists of valleys and plateaus hemmed in by towering mountains, and lying at a sufficient altitude for the air to be highly rarefied, rendering the sun's heat intolerable by day, while the fall of temperature after sunset is so great that it freezes almost every night of the year. As the mountain sides are bare of vegetation, the only cultivated spots are the fan-shaped slopes at the mouths of the valleys where the masses of *débris* swept down by the torrents have accumulated to a great depth, channelled by gorges in which the streams run from 200 to 1000 feet below their surface level. In order to utilise these alluvial cones for cultivation, the natives dam up the watercourses high up the valleys,

and lead them in canals along the mountain sides to the apex of the cone, whence they are distributed over its surface. Where water cannot be conducted to them these tracts lie waste, as the people have no means of raising the life-giving element by artificial means. The houses are built on the hill-sides encircling the cultivated tract, which is far too valuable to be wasted on building-ground. As there is practically no rain in Ladakh, the streams are fed by the melting of the snows, and vegetation is entirely dependent on irrigation.

The fan itself is divided into a number of artificially constructed terraces, and looks from a distance not unlike a pile of monstrous soup-plates. The order in which the fields receive water is strictly regulated by custom, but in years when water is scanty many difficulties arise. The Ladakis are pre-eminently good-natured, and except when in liquor, are not likely to quarrel about anything but water.

The daily swelling of the streams testifies to their dependence on the melting of the snows. It generally takes place in Ladak at about 6 P.M., and reaches its maximum three or four hours later, a trickling brook having in the interim been transformed into a raging torrent rolling down huge blocks from the frost-splintered peaks. The proportion of cultivated to uncultivated land is very small, approximately only 103 square miles out of 21,600, and a tenfold return is considered an average crop. Beardless barley, wheat, and some peas and turnips form the principal produce raised.

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**Progress of the Uganda Railway.**—As the Egyptian railway progresses southward towards Central Africa, the line from Mombasa to the great reservoir of the Nile stretches out mile by mile to meet it. The Parliamentary Paper, bringing official information down to March 1898, has been supplemented by a correspondent writing in the *Times* of November 22, enabling us to trace its progress until September. Railhead had then reached the 235th mile in a temperate climate, at a height of 4000 feet above the sea, marking an advance of about 96 miles in seven months, a splendid record, considering the nature of the country traversed and the obstacles encountered. The section of 100 miles, first opened for goods traffic in December 1897 and for passengers in the following February, has now been extended for goods to the 226th mile, with very encouraging results in traffic returns. The transport of ivory is already considerable and is expected to increase. The line also did good service during the fighting in Uganda, and probably obviated the necessity for the despatch of another regiment from India. The initial difficulties are now sur-

mounted, and the work, it is hoped, will progress steadily, although the expectation that a less arid region would be entered in the Ukambani country was not realised. The water supply was a great difficulty, as in the first 250 miles from Mombasa, the River Tsavo, 139 miles from the coast, was the sole source where it was to be had free from the salts and lime which rendered that of the other springs so injurious to the boilers. Exceptional rainfall in one season, amounting to 40 inches in April and May 1897, caused much sickness and death, and was followed by the exceptional drought of the subsequent year. Mortality among the animals from tsetse bite along the first 250 miles carried off in two months 50 mules out of 150, while cattle plague committed dire ravages among the oxen, leaving only 100 survivors out of 350. Four were killed, too, by lions, and a still more lamentable mishap occurred in the death of Mr. Harrison, one of the engineers, from the same cause. Another obstacle to progress—want of sufficient engine power—was directly attributable to the engineering strike in England, but two powerful traction engines have been at work since May, and by their aid large bodies of men can be kept at work 20 miles beyond railhead. They are fitted with a winding apparatus by which they can first haul themselves up a steep slope, and then as stationary engines, haul up their load in sections. A material saving in distance is hoped for from Sir Guilford Molesworth's discovery of a more direct route from the Great Rift to the Lake than that originally laid down by Major Macdonald. The Nandi country, passed by the line, is described as a sportsman's paradise, in which, in addition to lions, elephants, giraffes, antelopes large and small, and vast herds of zebras abound in phenomenal numbers.

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**Location of the Garden of Eden.**—The theory that the site of the Garden of Eden has been found in Somaliland has at least the merit of novelty, and the exact location of the spot is the object of the journey recently undertaken by Major Seton Karr. Meantime Mr. W. Marshall Adams points out that in a book, published in 1890, he advocated a similar view, namely, that the plateau of Central Africa was the original cradle of the human race. Eden, in his view, was not a region in which four rivers ran their full course, but one watered by a single river, and containing four "heads" or river sources. These conditions, he argues, are fulfilled in Central Africa, "containing the single river, the Shari, together with the heads of the four great rivers—Zambesi, Niger, Nile, and Congo." The Garden, according to the hypothesis which he further develops, was not



coterminous with the territory of Eden, but was situated on its eastern side, and would thus correspond with the magnificent park covering 3000 miles of gloriously beautiful country full of animal life, as seen by Mr. Stanley from the rocky heights on the eastern flank of the basin.

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**Captain Deasy in Central Asia.**—A telegram from Allahabad brings the history of this explorer's wanderings down to the end of August 1898, when he was able to report some valuable results of his expedition. Amongst these was the discovery of the source of the Khotan-dariya, the crossing of part of the Tibetan desert to Polu, and the extension of the triangulation of this region towards the base of the Kuen-lun chain. The Chinese amban of Keriya did all in his power to obstruct his journey, as is the way of these officials, and he has written to have his conduct reported in Peking, where it is to be hoped more attention will be paid to his remonstrance than to other British demands.

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## Nova et Vetera.

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### A CHANTRY FOUNDATION.

THE Chantry foundations and the Chantry clergy were amongst the most notable features in the life of the pre-Reformation Church in England. The document subjoined is a sample of the manner in which such foundations were regulated in the early part of the fifteenth century. It has nothing very special to distinguish it from numberless ordinances of the same class, but for that very reason it may serve all the better as a fair specimen of its kind. Its careful provision for financial management and audit, as well as for discipline, may be worthy of note. It dates from days when the country, thrown socially and economically out of gear by the devastation of the Black Death, was still but slowly recovering from the shock and confusion. It was written by men whose grandfathers must have seen the first ravages of that colossal calamity.

In 1341 Sir Robert Bouchier, ancestor of Cardinal Bouchier, assigned considerable property to found a college of eight chaplains to say Mass daily and assist at the Divine Offices in the parish church at Halstead in Essex. He wished to add to the funds of the new foundation by appropriating to it the neighbouring church of Sible Hedingham. He petitioned the Pope to authorise both the foundation and the appropriation, and Edward III. wrote twice to the Pope to second his request.

In two articles contributed to the *Tablet* (August 13 and 20, 1898), entitled "The First Lay Lord Chancellor," I have endeavoured to trace the circumstances under which Sir Robert Bouchier had proposed to make this foundation. It was therein stated that the King, Edward III., wrote twice to the Pope, supporting Sir Robert's petition, and the text of the *second* of the Royal letters was given. The first was not then forthcoming, but has since then come to my knowledge. It is to be found on the same roll as the second letter, having been written by the King only two months before, and I may be allowed here to supply the omission, as it is a good sample formula of Royal petitions of the same kind. Its tenor is as follows:

["To the Pope, &c., the King, &c.]

*"We hold it to be a pious and meritorious act in the sight of God, to*

*second the good desires of those who wish to extend the worship of God. Seeing that our well-beloved and faithful knight, Robert de Burghch, our Chancellor, considering the transitory nature of this present life and thence wishful, by a happy exchange, to procure eternal things for temporal and for things that are fleeting, those that pass not away, has desired to found a certain new College of eight chaplains in the parish church of Halstead, in the Diocese of London, to celebrate Mass therein in perpetuity, and to assign certain possessions and revenues for their support and to meet the charges incumbent thereupon. We devotedly supplicate your Holiness that you will graciously deign to grant a licence for the foundation of the said College, and by a further act of grace, be pleased to appropriate to the said chaplains the church of Hengham Sibill, in which the said knight holds the right of patronage, according to the tenor of the petition of the said knight, enclosed in these letters. May the Most High preserve you for long and happy years to govern his Holy Church.*

*" Given at Westminster the twentieth day of May (1341)."*

*(Roman Rolls, 14 Edward III. m. 4.)*

What the Pope's answer was does not appear on the face of the Roman Archives, so far published, although, as we shall see presently, an almost identical petition sent by the King on the same day was finally granted by the Holy See in October 1345.

The matter must have been still very much *in fieri*, when in 1349 the Black Death came and carried off Sir Robert, and laid in new-made graves a vast mass of the entire population. About half a century later, when matters were gradually working back into shape, his heirs endeavoured to carry out his pious project. But in the period after the plague, prices had risen owing to the scarcity of hands and the extent of land gone out of cultivation. Food was 60 per cent. and labour 125 per cent. dearer than it had been in the old days when Sir Robert came home from Crecy. The new founders, therefore, felt bound to reduce the number of chaplains to *five*. Even this number was contingent on the realisation of the design of appropriating the church of Sible Hedingham.

As to the form of the foundation, we may note that there are three ways in which we may conceive that the collegiation could be carried out. First, a college of chaplains might be founded to live together in their manse or chantry house, and to say Mass and Divine Offices in their own chapel. Such a college would be practically separate from, and independent of, the parish church. Or, secondly, the college might be founded in the parish church itself in such a way that the

parish church would be absorbed in the college, and become a collegiate church, with the master or warden for its rector, and the cure of souls discharged by one or more of his vicars. Such was the case with the parish church of Our Lady of Manchester, which was collegiate by Sir Thomas de la Warre, a priest who became lord of the manor, in 1422. Or, thirdly, a middle course might be adopted. The college of chaplains might be founded with its manse or residence in the parish, but having its services and celebrations in the parish church or in some particular chapel of the same. The parish church would thus have a larger number of daily Masses, and a larger number of clergy at the offices, but its possessions and its government, and its cure of souls under its rector or vicar would be left intact, and would continue very much as before. This, I take it, had been the case with the College of Seven Chaplains, founded in the Chapels of Our Lady and of St. Anne in the church of St. Peter at Sibthorpe, in the diocese of York. The founder, a wealthy priest, Sir Thomas Sibthorpe, rector of Beckingham, later on petitioned the Pope for licence to appropriate the church itself to the college (thus apparently passing to the second method as at Manchester), and King Edward III. wrote to Rome in his favour on the very day, and almost in the same words, in which he wrote the petition on behalf of Sir Robert's foundation at Halstead.\*

These three methods—a college of chaplains in a parish, having their own separate church; a collegiate of the parish church itself; a college celebrating *in* the parish church or in one of its chapels, leaving the revenues and government of the parish church untouched—would represent broadly the three chief ways of college-founding in England.

It will seem clear from the ordinance that, whatever was the project of Sir Robert in 1341, it is the third of these methods that was contemplated by the founders of 1412 for the College Chantry at Halstead. That is to say, the chaplains lived in their own manse, but said Mass (save in case of sickness) in the parish church "in the chapel where the bodies (of the Bourchiers) were buried," and assisted at the offices on Sundays and festivals, while the parish remained as before under the care and control of its vicar. As Sible Hedingham remained unappropriated, in all probability the clause limiting the resident chaplains to two, a master and a companion, was put in force and

\* The two letters are dated on the same day, and follow each other on the Roman Rolls, 14 Edward III. 3. On Oct. 1, 1345, the Pope granted the petition for the College at Sibthorpe, with its seven chaplains, two clerics, and its provision for lamps and wax lights, and its dole of bread to the poor on three days every week. See "Calendar of Papal Petitions," vol. i. 87 (or vol. iii. of "Calendar of Papal Letters," p. 215.)

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represented the only actual fulfilment of Sir Robert Bouchier's generous intentions.

It may be noted that in the deed of foundation, the name of Bouchier does not appear among the nine trustees. That is due, no doubt, to the somewhat pathetic circumstances under which it was drawn up. The refounding of the Chantry appears to have been the outcome of the last wishes of Lord Bartholomew de Bouchier, who died in May A.D. 1409. He was the grandson of Sir Robert, the first founder, and inherited from him, and from his own father, Lord John, his zeal for the favourite family project of a College of Chaplains at Halstead. When Lord Bartholomew died, he left behind only his wife, the Lady Idonea, who held his estate in dower, and an only daughter, Elizabeth. In little more than a year (Sept. 14) his widow, the Lady Idonea, followed him to the grave, and was laid at his side in the parish church at Halstead. Thus when in fulfilment of his last wishes this deed was drawn out, the sole survivor was his daughter Elizabeth, who was the heiress of his estates. The new founders or trustees—"coadjutors" the deed calls them—were accordingly the Bishop of the Diocese and eight local personages, including amongst others John de Boys (the Norman for Wood, de Bois or de Bosco), whose family were benefactors of Dunmow Priory, and whose name still survives in the appellation of Boys-Hall at Halstead.\*

I may add that the subjoined is a translation from the Chantry deed of Foundation preserved in the Register of William Gray (fol. 56), Bishop of London (1426-1431) and evidently detached from that of his predecessor Bishop Clifford (1407-1421). This again is an official copy made in the same century of the original deed preserved at the College at Halstead, and bearing the certificate of exemplification attesting that it agrees "word for word" with the original from which it was taken. In it, as in all of its kind, we have a monument of the lively faith and munificent charity which animated the people of those days in behalf of the souls of the faithful departed.

J. MOYES.

"COPY OF THE LETTER OF FOUNDATION OF THE  
COLLEGE OR CHANTRY OF HALSTEDE."

To all the faithful of Christ, to whom this present writing may be shown or read: Richard Clifford, by the grace of God, Bishop of London, John de Boys, Robert de Teye, Robert Rykedon, Robert,

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\* Morant's "Essex," ii. 253.

rector of the Church of Hengham Sibil, Richard Waltham, Thomas Rolf, Thomas Berbowe, William Bayley, health in the Lord.

[*I. Licence of Mortmain.*]\*

Whereas Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and lord of Ireland, the Fourth † after the Conquest, hath lately by his letters, dated at Westminster on the second day of May in the thirteenth year of his reign, for himself and his successors as much as in them lies, granted a licence to us the aforesaid Bishop, John, Robert, Robert, Robert, Richard, Thomas, Thomas, William, and to a certain Adam Crisselowe, cleric—to nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, or two of us—that we shall be able to make, found, and establish a certain perpetual and corporate Chantry consisting of five chaplains who are to celebrate Mass ‡ daily in the Church at Halstede for the souls of Robert de Bourghier, § knight, and Margaret his late wife, of John de Bourghier, knight, and Matilda his late wife, of Bartholomew de Bourghier, knight, and Margaret and Idonea, his late wives, and for the souls of their parents and benefactors, and of all the faithful departed, according to an ordinance to be drawn up for that purpose by us the aforesaid Bishop, John de Boys, Robert de Teye, Robert Rykedon, Robert, rector of the Church of Hengham Sybyll, Richard, Thomas, Thomas and William, and the aforesaid Adam—nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, or two of us :—

And that one of these chaplains shall be the Master, and shall be spoken of as Master of the Chantry called Bourghiers' Chauntrie :—and that we the aforesaid Bishop, John de Boys, Robert de Teye, Robert Rykedon, Robert rector of the church of Hengham Sybyll, Richard, Thomas, Thomas, and William, and Adam aforesaid—nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three or two of us,—after the said Chantry shall have been so founded and established, shall be able to give and convey to the said master and chaplains :—

Six dwelling-houses,  
702 acres of land,  
29 acres of meadow,

\* These headings in italics and the marginal numbers are not in the text, and are inserted merely for the convenience of the reader.

† *I.e.*, Fourth of the name, Henry IV. The licence may be seen on the Patent Rolls, 13 Henry IV. (II.) m. 27.

‡ *Divina celebraturis*—*i.e.*, Mass and such other services as might be connected with it, as Placebo, Dirige, &c.

§ The spelling of the name apparently underwent a sort of evolution. In 1341 it was written "Burgsch": half a century later it was "Bourghier": in the middle of the next century, in the days of the Cardinal, it had dropped the g, and become "Bourchier."

71 acres of pasture,  
 57 acres of wood,  
 Rents amounting to £5 13s. 6d.

with their appurtenances in Halstede, Hengham Sybyll,\* Pebemerrsh, Twynstede and Middleton, and the advowson of the said church of Hengham Sybyll, which are not held of the King, to be had and holden by the same master and chaplains and their successors for ever :—And that the same master and chaplains shall be able to receive our aforesaid dwelling-houses, land, meadow, pasture, wood, rents and advowson with their appurtenances from us the aforementioned Bishop, John de Boys, Robert de Teye, Robert Rykedon, Robert, rector of the church of Hengham Sybyll, Richard, Thomas, Thomas, William and Adam—nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, or two of us—and to appropriate the church of Hengham Sybyll, and to hold it so appropriated for their own uses, for themselves and their successors aforesaid as already stated in perpetuity—namely, hath given special licence as by the aforesaid Letters Patent doth plainly appear.

[II. *Foundation.*]

And the said Adam, by a certain deed of his, hath surrendered and released both his whole title and claim in the tenements and advowson aforesaid, as well as the entire share which he had with us in the foundation and regulation of the Chantry aforesaid, unto us the aforesaid Bishop, John de Boys, Robert, Robert, Robert, Richard, Thomas, Thomas, and William.

Be it known that we the above-mentioned Bishop, John de Boys, Robert de Teye, Robert Rykedon, Robert, rector of the church of Hengham Sible, Richard, Thomas, Thomas, and William, by virtue of the licence of the King aforesaid, and of the licences of the feudal lords of the said tenements and advowson to us made and granted, do, by these presents, found, make, and establish a Perpetual and Incorporated Chantry of five chaplains to celebrate Mass daily in the aforesaid church of Halstede for the aforesaid souls, the which we call, and desire to be called *Bourghchiers-chauntrie*.

And we make and appoint by these present letters, the aforesaid Adam Crissellowe, master of the aforesaid Chantry.

And we give and grant, and by these our present letters, we confirm to the said Adam, master of the aforesaid Chantry, and to his successors in perpetuity, a certain tenement with appurtenances in Halstede called

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\* Sible Hedingham in records of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries is written "Hengham Sybyll" or "Hengham Sibille."



*Ippeworthes*,\* and a certain other tenement in the same town with appurtenances, called *John Fitzandrew*; and a certain other tenement in the same town with appurtenances called *Slohouse*; and a certain other tenement with appurtenances in Halstede and Mapilstede called *Thomas Fitzjohn*; and one dwelling-house and one croft in Hengham Sybyll called *Churchehall*; and also the advowson with appurtenances to the aforesaid Adam, master of the aforesaid chantry, and to his successors in perpetuity, [to be held] of the feudal lords in chief of the same for the service therefrom due and after the manner accustomed for all future time.

[III. Ordinance.]

Moreover, we, the aforesaid Bishop, John de Boys, Robert de Teye, Robert Rykedon, Robert, rector of the church of Hengham Sybyll, Richard Waltham, Thomas Rolf, Thomas Berebowe, and William Bayly, do by these presents make the ordinance of the aforesaid chantry in the form which follows, to wit:—

[Number of Chaplains.]

1.—In the first place, we ordain that after the aforesaid church of Hengham Sybyll has been appropriated to the aforesaid Chantry, and a certain vicarage therefore endowed according to the form of the Statute† for that effect promulgated, so that the warden and chaplains of the said Chantry have obtained corporal possession of the church aforesaid, from that time forward, one master and five chaplains shall be constantly resident in the said Chantry—and that before the corporal possession of the same thence obtained, there shall be resident in the said Chantry only the master of the same Chantry, who for the time shall be, and one chaplain, the colleague of the said master.

Provided always that upon the endowment of the vicarage, the master aforesaid of the Chantry aforesaid, who for the time shall be, shall reserve for himself and his successors the advowson of the said vicarage.

[Election of Master.]

2.—We also ordain that whensoever and as often so ever after the

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\* Hipworth Hall. This property in Halstead, consisting in a residence and 100 acres of arable land, had been bought by Lord John Bouchier, and was called "Hipworths." See Morant's "Essex," ii. 257.

† The Statute 4 Henry IV. c. 12, required that in appropriated churches a perpetual vicarage should be endowed, and that the vicar appointed should be a secular priest. When the church was appropriated *pleno jure*, and attached to the *mensa* of a monastery, it could be served by a monk.

appropriation of the church of Hengham Sybyll, made in the manner aforesaid, the office of master of the aforesaid Chantry shall by any lawful reason become vacant, one other chaplain of the said Chantry, the more virtuous and discreet, shall be elected by all the chaplains of the said Chantry, or by the greater or more prudent number of the same, and shall be by them presented to the Bishop of London, who for the time shall be, as the patron of the said Chantry.

And if the office of master of the aforesaid Chantry shall by any lawful cause become vacant before the appropriation aforesaid shall have been made, then the surviving chaplain who at the time shall be in residence at the said Chantry, shall personally inform the Bishop of London, who for the time shall be, or his Vicar-General in Spirituals, of the said vacancy.

Whereupon, if the Bishop or his Vicar shall be satisfied as to [the fact of] vacancy, and of the suitableness of the said chaplain, the said Bishop or his Vicar shall confer the aforesaid office on the said chaplain.

But in the event of the office of the aforesaid master becoming vacant before the appropriation aforesaid has been carried out, and of the then surviving chaplain not being suitable, the Bishop or his Vicar shall bestow the above-mentioned office on another chaplain who shall be suitable, according to his discretion.

And that every such chaplain so elected and presented to the Bishop or his Vicar, after the appropriation aforesaid has been carried out, and every chaplain of the said Chantry to whom the Bishop or his Vicar shall confer the aforesaid office before the aforesaid appropriation has been carried out, shall, before he has been instituted in the said Chantry, take a corporal oath in the presence of the Bishop or his Vicar, that he will well and faithfully observe all the ordinances and observances upon the founding of the Chantry which are in this writing contained.

And if any other chaplain of the aforesaid Chantry shall die, or from any reasonable cause shall be relieved from his office, then the master and chaplains within the three months next ensuing, shall certainly, if they conveniently can, provide another in his place.

[*Devolution.*]

3.—In like manner; we ordain that if the aforesaid chaplains, after the aforesaid appropriation has been made, shall have been remiss, negligent or in disagreement in the election of a master of the Chantry according to the form of the aforesaid ordinance, for two months from the time when the vacancy of the said office was made known, or if

the said office shall have become vacant before the said appropriation has been made, and if the chaplain then surviving, resident in the said Chantry, shall have been negligent in informing the Bishop of the place aforesaid, or his Vicar-General, of the vacancy for two months counting from the time when the vacancy of the said office became known, then and so often, for that turn, the right of collation shall devolve to the Bishop of London.

And in like manner, if the aforesaid master and chaplains or their successors shall have been remiss, negligent, or disagreed in the future in electing any chaplain of the aforesaid Chantry according to the form of the aforesaid ordinance, after that any such place shall have been vacant for three months from the time of such vacancy, then and so often the right of collating and appointing another suitable chaplain in his place in the said Chantry shall for that turn devolve to the Bishop of London.

And not the less, the aforesaid master and his colleagues and their successors shall be punished according to the discretion of the said Bishop.

[*Probation and Admission.*]

4.—Also, we ordain that any chaplain in any whatsoever way to be appointed as fellow of the said Chantry, shall have a year of probation, after the lapse of which, if he himself and the master and brethren, or the greater or better number of them, are willing that he should be incorporated in the said Chantry, then he, to wit, before being admitted as a perpetual brother, shall be bound to take a corporal oath in the presence of the master and brethren concerning the observance of the statutes of the Chantry in so far as they concern him or his person, as to keeping the secrets of the Chantry and the brethren aforesaid, and that he will attempt nothing against the Chantry, nor give countenance or assent to any one engaged in such attempt, but that he will to the best of his power preserve the privileges of the Chantry intact; then he shall be bound to profess obedience to the master, to wit, as to serving and obeying him in what he shall lawfully and rightfully command.

[*Patronage.*]

5.—And further we ordain by these presents that we, Richard, the aforesaid Bishop of London and our successors, the Bishops of London who for the time shall be, during all future time, are and shall be Patrons of the aforesaid Chantry, provided always that neither we, the aforesaid Bishop nor our successors shall make, admit, or appoint

any one master or chaplain in the aforesaid Chantry other than the one whom the fellows of the Chantry aforesaid shall have wished to elect, if any of the said chaplains should be competent and discreet for the discharge of the said office, according to the judgment of the said chaplains.

[*Duties of Chaplains.*]

6.—In like manner, we ordain that the said Adam, master of the said Chantry, and all his colleagues and his successors shall celebrate Mass every day in the aforesaid church of Halstede for the souls aforesaid, unless some lawful cause of excuse shall intervene, as in the following shall appear, and on Sundays and feast days, they shall be present at the solemn celebration of the Divine Offices.

Except in the case where it shall happen that one of the fellows is hindered by some serious illness, and then we desire that in the Oratory which they shall have in their residence\* on every day on which it can be, the Mass shall be celebrated in his presence by one of his fellow-chaplains, and that as long as his illness shall last the Divine Office shall be recited either with him or in his presence.

[*Residence.*]

7.—We also ordain, by these presents, that the aforesaid Adam and his fellow-chaplains of the aforesaid Chantry, and their successors, shall dwell in the houses or buildings made and designed for their residence, or to be made or designed in the future, and there in the said houses and buildings and the Chantry, and not elsewhere, they shall be personally resident at all times, and that they shall not be stipendiaries or in the service of any one, but shall be solely occupied in the discharge of the duties of the said Chantry.

[*Repairs.*]

8.—And for that reason they shall continually, and for all future time, maintain and keep in good repair the aforesaid houses and buildings belonging to the Chantry, without making or suffering to be made any waste or loss in the lands, houses, woods or gardens, as far as in them lies.

And all the aforesaid tenements belonging or relating to the Chantry, or whatever in the future may be assigned to the same, they shall at their own cost preserve and maintain.

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\* Or "manse."

## [Anniversary Masses.]

9.—Moreover, that on the day of the anniversaries of the aforesaid Robert de Bourghier and Margaret his wife, and John de Bourghchier and Matilda his wife, and Bartholomew de Bourghchier and Margaret and Idonea, his late wives, the aforesaid Adam the master and his fellow-chaplains of the aforesaid Chantry and their successors shall celebrate the sung *Mass for the Dead* for the above-mentioned souls in the aforesaid church of Halstede.

And also on the eves preceding all the anniversaries they shall sing the *Placebo*\* and the *Dirige* for the aforesaid souls.

And be it known that the anniversary day of the aforesaid Robert de Bourghchier and Margaret his wife will always be, and shall be kept, on the feast of St. Laurence Martyr;† and the anniversary day of the aforesaid John de Bourghchier and of Matilda his wife always will be, and shall be kept on the 20th day of May; and the anniversary day of the aforesaid Bartholomew de Bourghchier, and of his wives aforesaid will be, and shall be celebrated on the 8th day of May.

In like manner, we ordain that on each day, after they shall have celebrated, those who are present at the time in the chapel in which the bodies are buried shall say for the souls of the aforesaid Bishop, Richard Clifford, and of the other coadjutors of the said Chantry, and for the souls of all the Faithful, the *De Profundis*,‡ with the prayer "*Deus Cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere, propitiare animabus famulorum Fundatorum nostrorum et omnium fidelium, &c.*"§

## [Common Seal.]

10.—Moreover, we ordain by these presents that the aforesaid master and chaplains of the Chantry aforesaid and their successors shall have one common seal to be used for all future transactions of the aforesaid Chantry.

\* "Placebo" is the first word of the opening Antiphon of the Vespers for the dead, "I will please the Lord in the land of the living" (Ps. cxiv. 9). "Dirige" in like manner is the first word of the opening Antiphon of Matins for the dead, "Direct, O Lord my God, my way in Thy sight" (Ps. v. 9). These two services in consequence were popularly known as the "Placebo" and "Dirige." The use of the latter term survives in the English word "dirge."

† August 10th.

‡ Psalm cxxix. "Out of the depth I have cried to Thee, O Lord."

§ The above is the Trental or anniversary prayer in the Sarum Mass for the dead, adapted to founders. "O God whose property is ever to have mercy and to spare, be merciful to the souls of Thy servants, our founders, and of all the faithful departed, and forgive them all their sins, so that loosed from the bonds of death, they may merit to enter into life through Jesus Christ our Lord."

[*Exchange of Benefices forbidden.*]

11.—Likewise, we ordain by these presents, that neither the master of the Chantry aforesaid who now is, nor any of his successors, shall exchange his office with any benefice whether with or without cure of souls.

[*Term of Leases.*]

12.—Likewise, we ordain by these presents that it shall not be lawful for any master of the Chantry aforesaid to let out by lease any of the aforesaid lands or tenements, or any portion thereof, beyond the term of nine years.

[*Chaplains and Benefices.*]

13.—Likewise, we ordain that all chaplains of the Chantry aforesaid shall be uncharged with any ecclesiastical benefices. And if it shall happen that any of the fellows of the Chantry shall obtain an ecclesiastical benefice from elsewhere, then within six months he shall resign the Chantry, and another ought to be appointed in his place according to the form aforesaid. Except that if an ecclesiastical benefice shall be from elsewhere conferred on the Master, he shall not on that account resign his office.

[*Election and Nomination.*]

14.—Likewise, we ordain that on the decease or resignation of the master, or on the vacancy of his office by whatsoever cause, the other chaplains aforesaid, having met together in a place for the purpose assigned, shall after due discussion nominate to that office one of their fellows, whom according to their conscience, and without favour or prejudice, they shall judge to be the more suitable for the well-being of the Chantry. Otherwise, they shall nominate as chaplain for this some one outside of their own body, upon whom they unanimously, or in greater or better part, shall agree, and whom they shall, as soon as conveniently possible, present with letters under the common seal of the Chantry to the Lord Bishop of London who for the time shall be, or to his Vicar-General in Spirituals; with a letter in the following form:—

*"To the Reverend Father and lord in Christ, the lord R. de C., by the grace of God, Bishop of London, his humble and devoted petitioners A. de B. and C. de F. Chaplains of the Chantry called Bourgchier's Chantry in Halstede, in the Diocese of London, reverence and obedience and honour to so great a Father due.*

*The aforesaid Chantry having been lately voided by the death of Sir A.,\* of good memory, the last master of the same, who on the 11th day of October, in the year of our Lord below written, departed from this world—(or otherwise, resigned)—we considering the disadvantages which might to us and to our Chantry ensue from a prolonged vacancy, and wishful as far as in us lies to obviate the same, have on this account met together in a place for the purpose assigned, and after diligent discussion by us had upon this matter, we finally deemed it well to give our votes in favour of Sir A., our fellow and co-chaplain, and according to the form of the ordinance of our founders of the Chantry aforesaid, we duly, by these presents, nominate him to your Reverend Fatherhood for the Office of Master of the said Chantry, and earnestly pray that you will deign to admit him, and that your Reverend Lordship will be pleased to institute and appoint him as master of our Chantry, and do all things else which to your office in this part may pertain. We invoke the Trinity to guide your Lordship long and happily in all prosperity to the honour of His Holy Church.*

*Written at Halstede aforesaid on such a day of such a month in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Four Hundred and Forty-four."*

[*Master's Oath.*]

15.—The Master of the said Chantry when he has been admitted and instituted, and before that he shall have presented himself to obtain the actual administration of his office, before he administers in any matter, shall take a corporal oath in the presence of his fellows, assembled for this purpose, to wit, by touching the sacred Gospels, that he will administer faithfully according to the best of his power, and that he will observe the statutes of the said Chantry which concern his office or person, and as far as in him lies, shall cause them to be observed by others.

[*Finance.*]

16.—Likewise, we ordain that within a month from the time of his entering into administration he shall make to his fellow chaplains associated with him, a full and faithful inventory† of all the stock or stores live and dead belonging to the Chantry, also that he shall furnish a statement of the credits and debts to the treasure, if there be any, diligently investigated and drawn up in writing in such a form

\* Before the Reformation priests, like knights, were addressed by putting "Sir" before the Christian name.

† "Inventory" included what nowadays would be meant by Capital Account, Revenue and Expenditure Account, or Balance Sheet.



as to make it plain to all the chaplains in what state the master newly appointed has found the said Chantry; and at the end of each year of his tenure of office, he shall make up the same inventory in like manner and shall return a full account of the state of the Chantry and its goods with all its receipts and expenditure, in the presence of his aforesaid fellow chaplains, so that in this way, it may be made clear in what state the said master shall have maintained the Chantry and in what state he has left it at the expiry of his office. But if he shall be negligent or incompetent in the fulfilment of the foregoing, let it be presented in public in the visitation of the Bishop, or if in the meanwhile the matter should require to be promptly dealt with, let it be reported by some one or more of the chaplains to their patron the Bishop of London, who for the time shall be, or to his Vicar-General in Spirituals. Provided always that not less in store\* and treasure shall be given up by any master at the end of his administration than he found at the time when he entered into office, unless some reasonable cause shall excuse him: but rather shall he be found to secure an increase, and that the foregoing may be the more clearly carried out in a way above all suspicion, every inventory should be drawn up in duplicate, in the form of an Indenture;† of which document one part shall remain in the possession of the master, and the other in that of one of the elder and more discreet fellows, to be kept by him in a place of safety for the benefit of all the brethren.

*[Provision for Vacancy and Absence.]*

17.—Likewise, when the office of master shall from any cause become vacant, the full administration of the goods of the Chantry shall belong to that one of the fellows whom the other chaplains shall have elected as faithful and prudent in temporal matters, nor ought such fellow to refuse [to act] until a new master shall have been appointed, and then, after the latter has obtained the administration

\* The mediæval word "Staure" includes not only stores, but plant and live-stock, in contradistinction to cash.

† This ancient precaution consisted in writing out the document twice over on the same sheet of parchment, leaving a broad space between the copies. This space was then cut through in a zig-zag or indented line. A copy was then given to each of the parties concerned. If it were at any time suspected that one of the parties had altered the tenor of the document, and had substituted a new half-sheet of parchment, the fraud could be detected by placing it alongside of the other half, and seeing whether the teeth or indented parts fitted into each other. Hence the document was called an Indenture. The ancient system of simply writing a given word such as "Cheirograph" in large letters on the intermediate space, and then cutting longitudinally right through the letters, leaving the test to be found in the fitting in of the upper and lower parts of the letters, would seem to be much more effective.

of his office, he [the fellow] shall within the space of fifteen days next ensuing, be bound to render to the said master, a full and faithful account of whatsoever expenses or receipts have been made by him during the vacancy of the office, so that the said master may be able within a month to draw up and to bring forward his inventory.

In the case that it should happen that the said master should remain absent for any lengthened space of time, as for instance, a month or longer, in like manner, let such person as the master shall depute, administer during the time of his absence. And thus in these two ways shall the Chantry for all future time be provided for during the vacancy of the office.

[*Help due to Sible Hedingham.*]

18.—Likewise, after the said master or any of his successors shall have obtained corporal possession of the church of Hengham Sibyll, and some one as vicar shall have been instituted therein, from that time forward, if the said vicar or whosoever he shall be, shall have need of the help or assistance of another companion for reading or singing the Gospels, the sequences, to wit, the Book of the Genealogy\* of Jesus Christ at Christmas; the Gospel "*Factum est autem*"† on the day of the Epiphany, the Gospel on Palm Sunday,‡ the same on Good Friday, and on Holy Saturday, the *Exultet jam Angelica*,§ then the said vicar who for the time shall be, shall approach the master of the Chantry who for the time shall be and shall pray and request the said master to aid him by letting him have a man from amongst his fellows who shall be able and competent to give him, the vicar, the required help; and on the aforesaid occasions, it will be allowable for the master, the aforesaid ordinances

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\* The Gospel from the first chapter of St. Matthew. "The Book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham." It was solemnly sung after the ninth lesson at Matins before the midnight Mass on Christmas, the Gospels being processionally carried with lights on either side to the pulpit or the steps of the chancel. The ceremony is still carried out in many of the churches in France. The chant of the Genealogy is one of the most beautiful in the liturgy.

† The "*Factum est autem*" is a gospel from St. Luke iii. 21. "Now it came to pass when all the people was baptized." It was sung after the manner of the Genealogy after the ninth lesson of Matins on the night of the eve of Epiphany, and before the *Te Deum*.

‡ The Gospels on these days are the Passion of the Lord according to St. Matthew and according to St. John. They were sung by the priests, one taking the part of Christ, another the part of the Evangelist, and a third, the part of Pilate and the Jews and others.

§ The *Exultet jam Angelica turba coelorum* is the well-known and beautiful chant sung by the deacon on Holy Saturday during the blessing of the Paschal Candle.

notwithstanding, to lend him to the vicar aforesaid, and the said vicar shall receive him at his own cost, both in eating and drinking during those days.

[*Altar Requisites.*]

19.—Likewise we ordain that the master of the Chantry aforesaid and his successors, the masters, of the same Chantry, shall find and supply from the common funds, bread, wine, wax, altar-towels,\* and all things needed for the celebration of Mass in the chapel in which the bodies of the aforesaid Robert de Bourghier, John de Bourghier and Bartholomew de Bourghier are buried.

[*Provision for Infirm.*]

20.—Likewise we ordain that the infirm brother chaplains, who are broken down by old age or by any other weakness shall have supplied to them both food and the other necessities of life with all due kindness, nor shall they, on that account, have any part of their salaries withdrawn from them.

[*Chaplains' Dress and Salary.*]

21.—Likewise, we ordain that the master of the Chantry aforesaid and his successors shall provide for themselves and their fellows from the funds of the Chantry, a common uniform once in each year, of one cut, and that the aforesaid master and his successors have from the aforesaid funds, for their yearly salary six marks,† and every fellow of the aforesaid chaplains and their successors shall have four marks, if the aforesaid funds will admit of it, and that the balance of the said funds shall be set aside and reserved in their common treasury, to be kept for the common uses of the Chantry aforesaid. And if the funds aforesaid are not sufficient for this, then the master aforesaid and his successors and the aforesaid chaplains his fellows, and their successors shall have and receive for their yearly salaries from the said funds each according to the discretion and agreement of the community. And [we ordain] that the said master and his fellow chaplains, and their successors, and their servants shall have from the common funds of the aforesaid Chantry food and drink in common: to wit, in their residence assigned for this purpose to the master and the chaplains.

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\* *Manutergia*: small finger-towels used at the lavabo in Mass.

† The silver mark was worth about 13s. 4d. Six marks would equal about £50 or £60 in modern value.

*[Provision for Impoverishment.]*

22.—Likewise we ordain that if any of the tenements or the advowson here above given to the said master and his brethren, or any other tenements to be given hereafter to the same master or his successors, should be by any means recovered against them or should be taken out of their possession, in such wise that the aforesaid number of five chaplains should not be able to be maintained out of the goods of the Chantry, then it will be lawful for the aforesaid master and his successors to reduce the aforesaid number of chaplains according to the quantity of the tenements thus passed out of their possession.

*[Conduct.]*

23.—Likewise we ordain that no one of the chaplains, fellows of the Chantry aforesaid, shall go outside the town on his own affairs, unless he has first asked the leave of the master. Nor should any of them alone frequent the town, or any place in the same from which sinister suspicion might be raised against him: but when they leave their residence, whether it be to go into the town, or into the fields for the sake of taking the air, let each of them have one of his fellows or some other honest companion: provided always nevertheless that all shall be inside their own residence while it is still daylight, and that they shall not any more go out that night save for some reasonable cause of which the master and the fellows shall approve.

*[Common Chest.]*

24.—Likewise we ordain that the aforesaid master and chaplains shall provide one good chest which they shall have in virtue of our ordinance, for themselves and their successors the chaplains of the Chantry aforesaid, in some safe place where best it shall seem to them: and that their common seal, and this present paper, vestments, jewels, and all the muniments pertaining to the aforesaid Chantry shall be placed in the said chest; and that it shall be shut by two locks with two keys, of which one key shall remain in the keeping of the master and the other in the keeping of the elder and wiser of the chaplains of the said Chantry, when the number of the chaplains as assigned above shall have been complete.

*[Discipline.]*

25.—Likewise we ordain by these presents that if any of the chaplains of the Chantry aforesaid shall cause any waste or loss in the lands, houses, woods or gardens belonging to the aforesaid

Chantry, or shall in any way alienate any of the lands, tenements, revenues, or furniture, or shall be guilty of any other crime on account of which he may become officially irregular,\* or incur perpetual suspension, or shall commit any whatsoever crime from which scandal shall arise amongst them, and shall have been on this account lawfully convicted before the master and his fellows, and shall appear to be incorrigible, let him be expelled from the said Chantry by the master and the said fellows, and another suitable person as chaplain put in his place. But if—which may God avert!—evil report or suspicion of any crime or excess should arise against the master, his fellow chaplains shall admonish him with all respect to remove the cause of scandal and suspicion, and if, after a second and third warning, he should fail to mend his ways, let him be denounced to the patron of the aforesaid Chantry, to wit, the Bishop of London, who for the time shall be, by one of his fellows duly appointed for matters of crime and excess,† and let him be canonically punished by the Bishop himself or some one deputed by him, as according to God and to justice it shall seem good.

[*Interpretation.*]

26.—We specially reserve to the Bishop of London, who for the time shall be, the power of interpreting and settling all doubts that may in any sort of way in the future arise from or bear upon this present Ordinance; the substance, however, of our present Ordinance in such settlement or interpretation being always and in all things maintained intact.

In faith and witness of all whereof, we the aforesaid Richard, Bishop, John de Boys, Robert de Teye, Robert Rykedon, Robert, rector of the church of Hengham Sybyll, Richard Waltham, Thomas Rolf, Thomas Berbowe, William Bayley have put our seal to these presents.

Given at Halstede on the 12th day of November in the year of our Lord One Thousand Four Hundred and Twelve, and the fourteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth after the conquest.

And we, the aforesaid Richard Clifford, by Divine permission, Bishop of London, adopting the foundation and Ordinance of the aforesaid Chantry as our own act, do by our ordinary authority as much as in us lies, confirm, approve, and ratify the same.

\* By irregularity in Canon Law is meant disqualification for exercise of priestly functions.

† An allusion to the provision of the Canon Law (Decretals of Gregory, lib. v. and Tit. 2, c. 27), which regulated the manner in which the members of a community could denounce a superior for dilapidation. Lyndwood deals with the same provision in his "*Provinciale*," p. 277.

In testimony whereof we have caused our seal to be put to these letters.

Given for issue under our seal in our Palace of London on the 20th day of November in the year of our Lord above mentioned, and the sixth year of our Episcopate.

And we, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of London, confirm, ratify, and approve the same. In testimony whereof we have put our common seal. Given in our Chapter House on the day and year of our Lord above mentioned.

S. WOTTON.

[This is followed by a certificate of exemplification, testifying that the copy agrees word for word with the original.]

## Notices of Books.

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**Einleitung in die heilige Schrift alten und neuen Testaments.** Dr. FRANZ KAULEN. ERSTE THEIL. Vierte, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1898.

THE book is divided into two parts. In the first part (Grundlegender Theil) the subjects of Inspiration and Canonicity are treated. On the first of these two the author is very brief. After the decrees of the Tridentine and Vatican councils are quoted we have the usual observations that Inspiration is different in nature from Revelation, and that the Bible contains a twofold element, human and Divine. Although this conciseness may seem unsatisfactory to readers who, for instance, had expected to hear something as to the respective limits of both these elements, on the whole this manner of dealing with the Inspiration-problem is not unsuitable to the present time. It leaves the reader free to apply the dogma on Inspiration in a wider or narrower sense according as his notions are freer or stricter. The only theory on Inspiration, rejected by Dr. Kaulen, is the one mentioned already in the Vatican Council, that Inspiration cannot mean the subsequent divine approval of the Scriptures.

The question of canonicity is treated in a fuller manner, no doubt, because it is less dogmatic, and largely enters into the region of history. The formation of the Old Testament canon, in other words the collecting, preserving, and transmitting of the books held sacred, commenced, we are told by Dr. Kaulen, already in the age of Moses and Josue. Moses handed over to the care of the Levites and the Elders the five books of the Thorah; to which Josue added the book bearing his own name. The Prophets also, for instance Jeremias, exhibited great diligence in guarding the inspired writings. After Esdras, whose name is more than that of any one else connected with the history of the Hebrew canon, the work was carried on by the Sopherim or Scribes. Although it appears that Dr. Kaulen still maintains in these matters a conservative position, yet the theory that Esdras should have closed or sealed the canon is not admitted. Books were added to it even after Esdras' time.

Dr. Kaulen's explanation why the Deutero-canonical books were



not received into the final redaction of the canon is ingenious but, as it seems to us, without foundation and open to objection. He holds that the books in question once formed part of the Palestinian canon, and were cancelled shortly before the Christian era. This is attributed by him to the change which had come over the religious ideas of the Jews. The Sopherim had become exclusive and one-sided in their theological notions, and the standard which they applied for testing the canonicity of a book was its conformity with their traditional interpretation of the law. Dr. Kaulen quotes the disputes, preserved in the Talmudic writings, between certain Rabbis on the canonicity of Ecclesiastes and few other books as illustrating his theory. The Deutero-canonical books then evidently did not comply with the required conditions, and in consequence were scratched out from the sacred list. The explanation, no doubt, is clear and simple, but destitute of historical ground. There is no proof that these books have ever been admitted in Palestine as inspired; the use which Josephus makes of them does not show it, for he excludes them from the list. And why should they have been rejected? After that the Sopherim could make up their conscience to retain Ecclesiastes and Job, they need not have scrupled over Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom.

The second part of Dr. Kaulen's book is devoted to the questions connected with the languages of the Bible and of the ancient versions. First, the Hebrew language. On this subject, more than on that of the canon, the author is evidently labouring under the weight of his conservative principles. He has to face the difficulty that, whereas every language has its development, involving a change of words and construction, so little difference is noticeable in the writings ascribed to Moses, Josue, Samuel, and the Prophets. Yet there is a considerable interval of time even between Moses and Isaias, not to speak of Ezechiel. The offhanded solution that Semitic languages in general are not much subject to change is not adopted by Dr. Kaulen. There remained, therefore, no other solution than to admit that the Pentateuch and Josue have been rewritten into a younger dialect (*neuschreibung*), such as was spoken at the time of David and Solomon. It is often said that modern critics advance theories without solid foundation. The accusation may be just, but here we should like to ask: What historical proof is there to show that a transcription, such as suggested by Dr. Kaulen, has taken place at the time of David and Solomon?

The article on the Greek language is excellent. Here the veteran scholar, not hampered by any prejudice, appears to his full advantage, and gives us some choice fruits of his rich and extensive learn-

ing, the result of a long and noble life of serious study. After a few general remarks, we have two long lists, one of words and constructions peculiar to the Alexandrine dialect, the other of Hebraisms occurring in the Greek text. The citations are given in full; they are judiciously arranged into groups, so that even to read those lists once is highly instructive.

C. v. d. B.

**St. Edmund's College Series of Scripture Handbooks.** The Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, with Introduction and Notes by R. D. Byles, B.A., late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Catholic Truth Society, 69 Southwark Bridge Road, S.E.

THIS is the second volume of the St. Edmund's series which has made its appearance. The neat little book is divided into two parts. An Introduction of twenty-three pages gives an interesting and clear account of St. Paul's life, of his two disciples Timothy and Titus, of the Church at Corinth, and of the motives which occasioned the writing of the Epistle. The commentary, which forms the second part of the book, occupies 85 pages. The text [the Douai version] is well printed. The division of verses is omitted, and, instead of this, paragraphs are introduced marking off the different arguments and ideas. Four appendices are added, dealing with certain special questions which the author rightly wished to treat of more fully than the space for the foot-notes allowed him.

Mr. Byles has successfully accomplished his task. The book is written in an interesting manner. With the difficult problems arising from this Epistle he shows himself to be thoroughly conversant, having previously studied and carefully weighed the opinions of the best and most recent scholars.

It was a judicious choice to take from amongst the fourteen Epistles ascribed to St. Paul the Second to the Corinthians. This Epistle is vastly different from the others, and, if we may give our own impression, more forcibly inspires or increases esteem and love for the person of him whom St. Chrysostom was wont to call "the great Apostle." Whereas in the other Epistles we have St. Paul's teaching, so new, brief, and rich on certain momentous subjects (the work of atonement, the freedom in Christ, the true righteousness), in the Second to the Corinthians St. Paul's own person and character appear in the foreground. In this Epistle St. Paul is defending not so much the Christian doctrine as himself, the chief missionary and teacher of that doctrine. This is his great *apologia*, his vindication against his adver-

saries who, either imbued with Alexandrian philosophy despised the simplicity of the Gospel, or from jealousy and narrow-minded prejudice resented its freedom. Here we have, in addition to his ever-glowing zeal for promoting the cause of Christ, all the vehemence of his indignation against those who tried to undermine his authority as Apostle. When reading the Epistle we approach its end and realise the importance of St. Paul's cause, being impressed by the vigour and ardour of his style, we do not wonder at finding him say, "I am not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles," but we find these words just and true. The other Epistles may show us more the breadth and loftiness of St. Paul's mind; in this one we admire the strength, warmth, and nobility of his character.

Reflecting on the greatness of St. Paul, I am surprised to find that Mr. Byles on the words "sting for the flesh" [the Douai rendering "sting of my flesh" is incorrect] gave preference to the interpretation which understands it of the temptations of concupiscence. Our surprise was all the greater because, as all through his book, he had thoroughly examined all the reasons for and against. I very much dislike this interpretation. It seems to me somewhat disrespectful to St. Paul, too much lowering him to the ordinary level of men. The privilege we are willing to concede to a saint such as St. Thomas Aquinas we may admit also for one who could say of himself "vivit in me Christus." Nor do I consider this interpretation to give the really obvious meaning of the passage. A sting for the flesh is something which from outside injures and hurts the flesh, whereas the passion of lust originates in the flesh, and instead of hurting entices us.

C. v. d. B.

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**The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland.** By

GRAHAM BALFOUR, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1898.

8vo, pp. xxxvi. 320.

ALL who are interested in the national education will find in Mr. Graham Balfour's pages a comprehensive view of our system, or rather systems, which cannot fail to arouse both attention and thought. In our Education, as in our Municipal Law and other phases of the national life, there is undoubtedly a want of unity and harmony which is so far compensated for by the practical efficiency of our working systems, so that we first forgive and then forget the lack of consistency. But this leads to our regarding what is by its nature one organic whole as a collection of separate institutions. The truth is, that the University and Poor-school have grown so far

asunder that we forget their common kinship. Therefore a writer who treats of elementary, secondary, and university education in the compass of one volume, setting their history and recent developments side by side, and exhibiting them not as isolated growths but as different members of one organism, startles us by a new view of the familiar, which may well give us pause.

It is not that Mr. Balfour has new theories to lay before the educational world. He has chosen rather to describe for us an existing system with its actual merits and defects. He is no advocate, but a chronicler—a position which he makes clear at the outset of his preface:

In this book I have tried to give a brief and fairly comprehensive account of general education in the United Kingdom during the nineteenth century. An impartial and even tedious catalogue of existing agencies seemed likely to be more effectual in indicating the present deficiencies and requirements of these islands than any mere impassioned advocacy of my own or anybody else's views.

In this spirit he proceeds to trace the history and development of the various educational authorities and agencies of Great Britain and Ireland. He passes from Privy Council to Charity Commission, from Home Office to Local Government Board, tracing the origin and limits of their respective powers and disentangling each thread in this complication of functions. One by one he deals with the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, the Poor Law Schools, the Prison Schools, the Reformatory and Industrial Schools. There are sections treating of the powers of the Home Office with regard to factories and mines, while even the educational side of the War Office and the Admiralty is not forgotten. In every case the variations of legislation and practice for Wales, Scotland, and Ireland are fully explained under separate headings.

The last part of the work is devoted to Higher Education, the growth of which is traced from the year 1800, when it was practically confined to Oxford and Cambridge, down to the present age of University Extension and the Higher Education of Women. Even so recent an event as the refusal to recognise St. Edmund's House at Cambridge as a public hostel is recorded. In this connection it is interesting to note the author's remark: "A private Hall for Catholics was opened at Oxford in 1896, under the usual regulations, without remark, and probably no opposition would be raised to a similar course at Cambridge."

Sections dealing with University Colleges and modern Universities, the Board of Agriculture, the City and Guilds of London Institute,

give an unexpected variety to this portion of the book, while the paragraphs dealing with Maynooth and the Catholic University will have a special interest for Catholics.

In short, we have a birdseye view of the public education of the British Isles in all its branches, which by enabling us to see in one glance institutions which are usually regarded as far apart, renders comparisons inevitable, and these when made must lead to practical and serious results. We see before us the same educational problems slowly and laboriously worked out by four nations, which, linked together under one Government, differ in faith, in temperament, and in material resources. The work done by one cannot fail to suggest modifications in that of another, and in this way Mr. Balfour's book becomes pregnant with hints of probable reforms. To many readers, indeed, the interest of the book will lie in what it suggests rather than in its actual contents, for it cannot be denied that much of the author's material is necessarily technical and unattractive, while his scope does not allow him the liberty of treatment which would do much to relieve the monotony of the facts. Yet the very strength of the book lies in its restraint. The reader feels that so keen-sighted an observer as Mr. Balfour could not have conducted so minute and patient an examination of the various attempts at developing education without forming very clear convictions as to the mischievous tendency of certain shortcomings of the different systems. Yet it is on these points that he is most reticent. He records failures without blaming them, and his adverse criticism is calm and without heat. Having no cause to defend, no theory to establish, he carries the weight of a dispassionate observer who is content to record the facts that he sees, and to leave them to tell their own tale.

It is true that there are occasions on which he does not hesitate to speak out, these occasions being for the most part afforded him by the mismanagement of educational affairs in Ireland, the "poverty-stricken Catholic country governed by a bureaucracy mainly Protestant" (p. xxix). On this subject he speaks with a delicacy which Catholics, whether English or Irish, will appreciate :

The Catholics refuse to receive any instruction except from Catholics; they demand that Catholic practices shall be allowed in schools which do contain, and need not contain, none but Catholic pupils, and that a Catholic University, or at least a University with a Catholic atmosphere, shall receive endowment and State recognition. . . . It is ungenerous to find fault with a nation which is ready to forego the material advantages of secular instruction from a devotion to the purity of its religion, and this is no place for subtle distinctions by which to adjust the rival claims of an education by which the intellect is trained and a faith which is above intellect. (Int. p. xxxi.)

The practical conclusions from this calm and judicial survey of British Education are summed up by the author in his Introduction, which, he tells us, was written subsequently to the body of the work, "so that there has been no temptation to distort or even to emphasise any of the facts in order to illustrate the general views there suggested." One of these suggested views has considerable interest owing to the growing conviction that the time is not far off when the controlling hand of the State will be laid upon secondary schools. The author's opinion is expressed in no uncertain words :

After many years the voice crying for organisation has made itself heard, and a measure setting up some central authority in secondary education is only a matter of time. . . . No proposal will satisfy the friends of secondary education in this country which does not create at least an Advisory Council and a genuine Minister of Education, and require inspection and registration of schools, and registration and training of teachers.

Whatever individual opinion concerning the desirableness of such legislation may be, it is clear that when writers with Mr. Balfour's opportunities for judging express a view in such unhesitating terms, the education of public opinion to the same point is also "only a matter of time." Since it behoves Catholics to be abreast of the age in all educational matters, it is encouraging to know from the conference of Catholic head masters held last May and from other recent events that the leading Catholic Colleges are fully alive to the importance of the problems which confront all who are engaged in secondary education and are taking steps to keep in the van of the movement.

E. H. B.

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**Dulcissima! Dilectissima! A Passage in the Life of an Antiquary, with some other Subjects in Prose and Verse.**  
By ROBERT FERGUSON, F.S.A. With Frontispiece by MARGARET DICKSEE. London: Elliot Stock. 1898.

**T**HIS very dainty little volume, of some hundred pages in a white vellum cover, exhibits a combination of pathos, morbidity, tenderness, weakness, goodwill, and error. The author shows a kindly feeling which inevitably draws us to the man. In a very touching story, which we take to be fictitious, he professes to have found among the foundations of an ancient Roman villa a jar containing the ashes of a girl who had died at the age of eight. His own daughter, also eight, begged him, instead of putting it among his collection of curiosities, to bury it. This was obviously very right; but when he

goes on to say "So we dug a grave in the corner of the garden where all the departed pets of the family were laid," one feels inclined to inquire whether, in the common cemetery of the children's deceased dogs, cats, guinea-pigs, and canaries, the most appropriate spot was selected. One of the characters appearing in this story "was the antiquary of the district next in repute to myself." In a chapter entitled, "In the Name of God the Merciful," the author says: "I should be very loth to believe that the Roman Catholic Church is utterly wanting in any attempt to enforce a kinder treatment of animals, but looking at the state of things in Italy and in Spain it is difficult to avoid coming to that conclusion." After the recent correspondence in the *Spectator* upon this very unfair accusation, we need not reopen the question in this brief review. As to a custom which he mentions, of turning down live rats steeped in oil and set on fire on the steps of St. Peter's in Easter Week, we can only say that we never heard of it; but if it does, or ever did, exist, "the Roman Catholic Church" was not responsible for it. So refined a man as the author would surely surround himself with men of refinement; yet he says, "I hardly ever meet with any one, even among those whose ordinary speech is unimpeachable, who would not make use of such a mode of expression as this: 'There is no more, I don't think.'" Such has not been our own experience; but then we do not live among Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries! Some of the verses are very pretty and occasionally they rise to poetry. This can scarcely be said, however, of such stanzas as

She kindly showed me through the shop,  
All from the bottom to the top.

In a piece entitled "In the Eternal City," the author does not say very complimentary things about the Catholic Church; but an antiquary who lives entirely among people who habitually use double negatives is not altogether unlikely to become a little confused about his facts.

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**The Book of the Twelve Prophets, Vol. II.** By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1898.

THIS is the fourth volume of the Expositor's Bible series brought out by Dr. Smith, and, as might have been expected, is an able and scholarly production. In the earlier volumes there is much in which we are unable to agree with the learned writer, and we were interested to note some little time ago that Professor Driver is not in



accord with all his views on the prophecy of Amos. Still, it cannot be doubted that Dr. Smith's publications on Isaiah, Amos, Hosea, and Micah are full of useful matter and well deserving of careful study.

In the present volume, of course, the writer shows himself to be a thorough-going disciple of the critical school. Amongst other conclusions with which he seems perfectly satisfied are the following: that most of Obadiah dates from the sixth century; that Malachi is an anonymous work "from the eve of Ezra's reforms;" that Zechariah ix.-xiv. belongs to the early years of the Greek period. So, too, he thinks there is little doubt of the substantial authenticity of Zephaniah II. (except the verses on Moab and Ammon) and of III. 1-13; of Habakkuk II., 5ff, and of the whole of Haggai. The lyric passage in the second chapter of Zechariah he regards as ungenuine, and Malachi II., 11-13a, as an intrusion into the text.

Dr. Smith seems to incline to assign the prophecy of Jonas to the year 300 B.C. And he makes no doubt that the subject of the book is allegorical or parabolic, the purpose being "to illustrate the mission of prophecy to the Gentiles, God's care for them, and their susceptibility to His Word."

It is unnecessary for us here to discuss points in the volume where we think Dr. Smith mistaken. It is enough to point out the standpoint of the writer, to give a few instances of his conclusions, and to say that, though from the Catholic position these homiletic publications are not very important, still, in the case of this work, it contains, over and above mere homily, much critical matter of value and interest.

J. A. H.

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**Christian Rome.** A Historical View of its Memories and Monuments, 41-1867. By EUGÈNE DE LA GOURNERIE. Translated and abridged by the Hon. LADY MACDONALD. With a Preface by H.E. CARDINAL VAUGHAN. 2 vols. London: P. Rolandi. Pp. xxii., 570, 524.

**THIS** is a new translation of a very old book, though not quite such an old one as Cardinal Vaughan would seem to suggest when he says of it in the Preface which he has contributed that "it was for several generations the most popular guide book to Rome." Doubtless it was of generations of students that his Eminence was thinking, for the original edition of De la Gournerie's book was published in the fifties. Since that time it has been more or less brought up to date by the addition of notes and of a supplementary chapter, but it still

leaves very much to be desired on this score, for the half-century or so that has passed since it was written has been of course quite exceptionally productive of new materials for the archaeological and architectural history of Rome, and the book really needs to be revised throughout, and in part re-written, in accordance with this new information, which has become available through the researches of De Rossi and others, and the opening to scholars of all the treasures of the Vatican archives. In its present state the book is not sufficiently exact or well informed to meet the needs of a real student, while at the same time it is not cast in a shape to suit the ordinary tourist who wants to know a little of the history of the buildings which he visits. Still, it is by no means unattractive in style, and is altogether admirable in tone, so that, although it might have been better, we can wish it a successful sale. The translation is smooth and free from French idioms. We must, however, protest against one peculiarity which constantly recurs, and that is the omission of the genitive when a sovereign is spoken of. Such phrases as "Innocent XIII. successor," "Benedict XII. death," "the Emperor Frederick II. horse," are neither English nor intelligible. As regards their binding the volumes are attractive enough, but the printing was done in Germany, and the quality of both type and paper forbids us to be even momentarily unconscious of the fact.

A. S. B.

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**Lezioni di Archæologia Cristiana.** By the late Prof. MARIANO ARMELLINI. Edited by GIOVANNI ASPRONI, with a Preface on the Study of Christian Archeology by Comm. STEVENSON. Rome: F. Cuggiani. 1898. Pp. xxix., 653.

THERE is a melancholy interest attaching to this book, which consists of the notes from which the late Prof. Armellini delivered his most valuable lectures at the College of the Propaganda. For not only is Prof. Armellini's voice now silent for ever, to the great loss of the Church and of the science of Christian archæology, in which he has left behind no successor of nearly equal calibre to himself, but Comm. Stevenson, who contributes the preface to his friend's posthumous volume, has also already followed him to the grave, so that now scarcely one of the band of the immediate pupils and followers of De Rossi remains alive.

Scrupulous care has been taken in the editing of this book to give in every case the views of Armellini himself, and everything has remained exactly as he left it, although in one or two cases we cannot

doubt that, if he had himself been able to revise the volume for the press, alterations would have been made to bring it into accordance with facts that have become known since he wrote. For instance, what is said here on the subject of the *Platonia* and the Cemetery of S. Sebastiano seems to have been written at an earlier date than what Armellini himself published in his lifetime in his book on the Roman cemeteries, and it does not allude to the results of the excavations made a few years ago on this spot by Mgr. De Waal. The book is divided into five parts. The first deals with Christianity in its relations to society during the first centuries, and is particularly valuable since the information it contains would be difficult to find elsewhere in a collected form. The second and third parts deal with the Roman cemeteries and their artistic remains, and these are less important since we already possess so many larger works on the subject both in Italian and in English. The fourth part gives a most useful summary of the light that is thrown by archaeology on the history of the Sacraments and the usages of the Church. This part we should like to see re-written in a somewhat fuller form and published in English. It would form a very useful text-book for the students of our seminaries and for others who are interested in Liturgiology and Christian antiquities. The last part is devoted to the study of inscriptions, and although this is necessarily more technical and less interesting to the general reader, it contains a great deal of information on the subject, arranged in a very convenient form. Altogether, as our readers will see from this short description, the book is one of very considerable value and interest, and this intensifies our regret that we shall have no further contributions from the same pen.

A. S. B.

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**Sonnets and Epigrams on Sacred Subjects.** By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT. London: Burns & Oates. 1898.

THE highest thoughts uttered with transparent simplicity of speech can only be looked for from one to whom they are habitual; the ordinary furniture of the mind and not its parade adornment. To the minister of the sanctuary, conversant with its exalted mysteries, they come as unbidden guests, and express themselves in the intimate and familiar language of his mind. Father Bridgett's musings on the most lofty themes are thus brought down to the level of the ordinary understanding by the clearness with which they are embodied in his mind, and his cabinet of poetic gems is a treasure accessible to all, not a casket with a Bramah lock

requiring to be opened by the *mot de l'énigme* of the adept in occultism. The Sonnets are on subjects taken from the New Testament, and each sets forth one of the divine mysteries it contains. The opening octave of that on the Transfiguration runs as follows :

See glory lights the Galilean hill,  
And with His saints the Lord holds converse high,  
Of work for His prepared, and drawing nigh,  
By which our earth the courts of heaven shall fill.  
Say, Moses ; say, Elias ; by your thrill  
Of awful rapture, when the Lord passed by  
On Sinai and on Horeb, can your eye  
Foresee an ecstasy diviner still ?

Among the most beautiful of the verse cameos in the volume are those of which Our Lady is the theme, as in the graceful and musical little song, entitled "The Maid-Mother," containing the two stanzas appended :

When Jesus hangs on Mary's neck,  
No timid conscience bids her check  
The torrents of her bliss ;  
Where angels tremble to behold,  
By grace of motherhood made bold,  
She worships with a kiss.  
Like flowers they twine in close caress,  
And answering looks of love express  
The bond that makes them one ;  
For heart in heart, as eye in eye,  
Within each other mirrored lie,  
The Mother and the Son.

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**Leaves from the Golden Legend.** Chosen by H. D. MADGE,  
L.L.M. With Illustrations by H. M. WATTS. Westminster :  
Archibald Constable. 1898.

IN this dainty volume the legends that formed so much of the literary stock-in-trade of the Middle Ages are presented to us in a dress which is in keeping with their associations, and suggests the archaic without bordering on the grotesque. The collection of pious tales compiled in the thirteenth century by Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican monk, afterwards Archbishop of Genoa, well deserves the name admiring generations have bestowed upon it, and readers even of our unbelieving century will follow with interest the marvels and miracles that fascinated their ancestors. The work has in addition a great archaeological and antiquarian interest, as one of the few surviving relics from the wreck of the past, the flotsam and jetsam of the ocean of time. It contains among other literary

curiosities the tale of Barlaam and Jehosaphat, a Christianised version of the early life of Buddha, dating in its Greek form from the seventh or eighth century, and ascribed to St. John of Damascus, vizier or councillor to the Khalif of Damascus before he became a monk of St. Saba near Jerusalem. It has a special importance in the literature of Christian apologetics, since it has been found to embody the long-lost "Apology of Aristides," a defence of Christianity presented to the Emperor Hadrian in the first half of the second century, and here put boldly into the mouth of one of the characters. Were it merely for presenting us with this interesting romance in a charming and intelligible form the editor is entitled to the gratitude of the public.

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**New Testament Studies.** By the Right Reverend THOMAS J. CONATY, D.D. New York: Benziger. 1898. Pp. 252. Price 60 cents.

THIS little manual, by the newly-appointed rector of the Catholic University of Washington, will be welcome to all who are convinced, as he is, of the necessity of teaching the Gospels to our younger children in a sympathetic as well as in an accurate manner. It is a collection of the lessons given by the author in his parochial Sunday school, on a plan of instruction which seems admirable. There are 214 "lessons," which cover the whole life of Christ: eighteen "Bible Talks" on "Inspiration," "Bible Geography," "Tradition," "Douai College," and other similar subjects; a small "Bible Dictionary" and three maps complete the work. The "lessons" are each very short, but pointed and helpful. Not the least of their merits is that they will necessitate the reading of the text itself, a very great gain when compared to those manuals which seem to supersede its use altogether. The "Bible Talks" too, are certainly on the right lines; they are interspersed among the "lessons," and are likely to arouse the interest of the pupils in the lessons themselves. They are written in a bright and suggestive manner.

We take it that the price will be prohibitive of its use in England. A similar manual at a shilling or eighteenpence would have a good chance of a wide circulation, especially in convent schools and Sunday schools. If any of our Catholic publishers or the Catholic Truth Society were to issue such a work, they might take this for a model. Monsignor Conaty in his charming little preface hopes that his manual "may lead to other and better text-books," and after carefully looking through it, we would venture to suggest one or two improvements.

The first is that some of the earlier lessons should be so altered that the child should not have to unlearn, later on, what has been taught him at the Sunday school. Such a manual is, indeed, no place to introduce Scripture criticism or even its latest results. But these might be kept in view, and this seeming contradiction in the teaching of the Church might be avoided. As an example of the defects we allude to, there is a question and answer on page 21 which might simply be omitted: as it stands it requires explanation at least.

"13. Are there great scientists who make science agree with the Bible?"

"There certainly are many great men who hold that no scientific error is taught in the Bible."

On the same page it is said that "Moses wrote the first five books (of the Old Testament) about 1500 years before Christ and 2000 years after Adam;" and on page 23 Moses is said to have written Genesis "from the oral traditions of the patriarchs and prophets." It would, I think, have been easy to have given a slightly different and equally orthodox account of the Mosaic authorship, which would have included the fact that Moses must have had *written* as well as *oral* materials at his disposal.

The "Bible Dictionary" is well conceived for the purpose the author has in view. But it requires extension and revision. Such entries as these might be made more accurate and have a date annexed:

"Lingard, Rev. John (Lingard). An English priest who wrote the History of England.

"Milner, Rev. John (Mil'ner). A famous English priest who wrote a great work in defence of the Church."

At first one hardly recognised Bishop Milner in this guise. And why is Mary Magdalen described as "the sinful woman of *Jerusalem*"?

The manual is illustrated throughout with fair success, except at page 19, where the suggestion of a football match instead of anything sacred is inevitable. The maps are printed in a way that we think will prove attractive to young learners. The author is to be congratulated on a work so well planned and executed, and likely to lead to very desirable spiritual and intellectual results.

E. N.

**A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante.** By PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

WE have had occasion more than once to speak warmly of the value of the work Oxford is doing for Dante literature. Not only as regards texts, but in studies elucidatory, illustrative, and auxiliary, the scholarship of the old University is enriching English letters in a remarkable degree. We have now to thank the Clarendon Press for a further work of the first importance, by a hand whose thorough and refined scholarship cannot be questioned. Of his equipment for a task demanding wide reading, judgment, and exactness he has left us no possibility of doubt.

Under a title whose error is its modesty, Mr. Paget Toynbee has collected by extensive research a mass of biographical, geographical, and literary data, as valuable to the Dante specialist as it is indispensable to the Dante student. But this veritable thesaurus—in both senses of the word—is not a mass of material like Ferragii's "*Manuele Dantesco*," but an arrangement of wide information, planned with method and scrupulous care. In general idea something on the lines of Blanc's "*Vocabolario Dantesco*," Mr. Paget Toynbee supersedes the French work, in that he does not confine himself to the "*Divina Commedia*," but embraces all the writings of his author. In this also his dictionary has the advantage of Donato Bocci ("*Diz. della Div. Comm.*"). There is, of course, nothing approaching it in English, and for those to whom Dr. Scartazzini's "*Enciclopedia Dantesca*" may not be accessible, the work will be simply invaluable.

As a Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Events, it is replete with matter literary, and in the true sense scientific. Its wealth of information is handled with admirable simplicity; and by a system of cross-references, the student, while being guided from point to point, may dip into digressions of deep collateral interest, without losing the main thread he was following. Genealogical and especially chronological tables are essential to a full apprehension of a writer so steeped in historical allusion as Dante (of Popes alone he alludes to twenty-eight in his writings). These tables occupy thirty pages, followed by plates of the Conformation of the Inferno and of the Purgatorio; a time reference and a plate of the Zodiac, with one of the Celestial Rose. And in his desire to be helpful Mr. Paget Toynbee has added an index of English or Anglicised names which differ from the Italian or Latin. It was thoughtful of him to do this, but the readers who will thank him for it will be inclined to wonder why he did not complete his help to them by giving in translation the



very important extract from Italian and Latin authorities in which the Dictionary is so rich.

It has been remarked that Mr. Paget Toynbee is disappointing in the meagre references he traces to the "Summa" of St. Thomas as compared with the ample references he specifies to other books: say, *e.g.*, to the "De Consolatione" of Boëthius. But this is, we take it, to misconceive the object of the Dictionary and to demand from Mr. Paget Toynbee what he did not propose to undertake. His intention was quite dissimilar from Professor Mgr. Poletto's "Dizionario Dantesco," which, for Catholic students, was a book apart. It formed no portion of Mr. Paget Toynbee's scheme to draw out directly the sources of Dante's teaching—he shows them, of course, clearly enough incidentally—but to specify passages in books from which Dante quoted. Dante quotes very seldom directly from the "Summa," but frequently from the "De Consolatione." It and the "De Amicitia" of Cicero were his favourite books, after the Holy Scriptures. This, too, will explain the comparatively few references to St. Thomas given by Mr. Paget Toynbee. Dante mentions him less than fifty times in all his works, and these references are given; though had the use of his teaching to be covered, one to two hundred passages could easily be cited from the "Commedia" alone.

Naturally much debatable ground had to be traversed. We have found Mr. Paget Toynbee temperate in expression, chivalrous in feeling, and candid in thought. There are points in the life of St. Dominic which sometimes, let us say, hurry the historian's pen. The spirit in which Mr. Paget Toynbee writes may be gauged by the following:

St. Dominic is popularly regarded as the founder of the Inquisition, and a relentless persecutor of heretics; as a matter of fact the Inquisitorial functions were not attached to his Order until more than ten years after his death, and it is more than doubtful whether he was personally implicated in the severe measures which were employed against the unfortunate Albigenses.

As another instance of his temper he follows Pozziali, Lombardi, and Tommaseo in thinking that Dante confused Pope Anastasius ("Inferno") with the Emperor, his namesake and contemporary, as a favourer of the heresy of Photinus; although, had he wished to make a point, he had an eminent Catholic Dantist at hand to help him in Monseigneur Hettinger. Nor does he, as it was in his power to do, mention that the Council of Trent placed the "De Monarchia" on the Index.

Indeed, we sometimes wish Mr. Paget Toynbee had allowed himself [No. 29 of Fourth Series.]

to be less impersonal, that we might have had the benefit of his opinion on a disputed point. Take the question of Il Veltro—The Greyhound—whom Virgil, addressing Dante on the confines of Hell, prophecies as the future deliverer of Italy. Mr. Paget Toynbee gives the various suggestions as to whom Dante had in mind: The Second Coming of Christ; Can Grande della Scala; Uguccione della Faggiuola; A Pope—*e.g.*, Benedict XI.; An Emperor—*e.g.*, Henry VII. of Luxembourg; but it is only by inference that we can guess that he himself inclines, perhaps, to Scala. Marchese, Cernoldi, and Père Berthier hold strongly for Benedict XI. But Mr. Gardner, our leading Dante Catholic scholar, calls this a "quite untenable theory," without explaining why. Now Mr. Paget Toynbee admits that the D X V of "Purgatorio" xxxiii. is usually taken as referring to this Veltro. But the initials indicate a Vicar of Christ (Domini Xti Vicarius) if not our Saviour Himself (Dominus Xtus Victor), which is possibly the reading to which Mr. Gardner himself inclines, of what he calls the "perhaps insoluble" mediæval puzzle. But from the "Inferno" xxxii. and "Par." xviii. Dante was well acquainted with the story of that Christian Achilles, Roland of Roncesvalles. Orlando is the prime figure of the early gestes which were sung by minstrels in Italian cities. In the library of St. Mark there is an Italianised version of the "Song of Roland," not much later in date than the Bodleian MS. (1230-40 according to M. Gautier). In the "Song" on two occasions there appears in a dream to Charlemagne, a greyhound chasing a panther and a bear. Père Berthier, who recalls these passages, gives in illustration a fresco (by Memmi, it is said) in which Benedict XI. is represented with greyhounds.

Again, we should have liked a little guidance, from one so well qualified, as to the authenticity of Dante's letters. Mr. Paget Toynbee admits ten as "commonly accepted as genuine"—the ten printed by Dr. Moore in his Oxford "Opere." But Mr. Gardner considers "only eight admit of serious discussion, whilst the authenticity of only two or three can really be regarded as approaching to anything like complete freedom from suspicion." Mr. Paget Toynbee is, we think, less than usually correct in writing "Scartazzini and others are inclined to reject them all as spurious." If our memory serves, Dr. Scartazzini admits "six, the authenticity of which can scarcely be called seriously in question"; they being the last six given in this Dictionary.

As to his thoroughness, it would delight a German; or better, it is what the Oxford Dante scholars have taught us to expect. His detailed references in Dante to "Maria," "the Virgin Mary, mother of

our Lord," to use his own words, fill seventy-eight lines of the four columns he devotes to her.

If we might venture a criticism of a book which has been such a labour—of love we are sure—and which we so warmly appreciate, it is that, writing subject to correction, we do not think Mr. Paget Toynbee quite realises in the Dictionary—of course he himself does—the polysensuousness of Beatrice. That she must have been a real woman he admirably puts beyond question. But did she not allegorically represent much more than theology? Is she not also a symbol of Revelation; of co-operating grace; of "ecclesiastical authority in so far as it is in the possession of Divine Revelation" in the words of Scartazzini; or even, as Barelli suggests, of that Divine Wisdom "revealed to man to raise him above earthly things and bring him near to God?"

Mr. Paget Toynbee states that Charlemagne "was canonised in 1165." It is true that the antipope Guy, or Pascal III. (1164) issued, at the request of Frederic Barbarossa, a decree for his canonization. At this time Alexander III. was Pope; and in 1170 he published a decree declaring it unlawful to honour any person publicly as a saint without the consent of the Roman Church. We therefore doubt—writing as a layman—if the honour he has received in many churches of Germany and the Low Countries, and in some portions of France—*e.g.*, Picardy and Normandy—amounts, in consequence of the tacit approbation of the Papal See, to more than a beatification.

Mr. Paget Toynbee's work will fulfil a most important position, especially as regards the prose works, as to which the few existing commentaries are far from satisfactory. We commend it emphatically, not merely as a dictionary, but rather as that *Trésor* of which Brunetto Latino wrote: "*Il est autressi comme une bresche de miel cueillie de deverses flors.*"

D. M. O'C.

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Jerome Savonarola. A Sketch. By Rev. J. L. O'NEIL, O.P.  
Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1898.

THIS is a short life of Savonarola written by an American Dominican. It is divided into two parts. The first is a narrative; the second contains criticism consisting chiefly of quotations. In appendices, extracts from Savonarola's works are given to illustrate his opinions; and there is a list of some fairly well-known books bearing on his times. The scale of treatment is hardly large enough to admit so much division. The criticism would have been better

worked up into the narrative. If we may use the distinction, Fr. O'Neil's logic does not quite square with his rhetoric. The rhetoric, as might be expected, is fervidly eulogistic: the logic, however, concedes most of the points made against Savonarola. The author's view of the facts is indeed singularly sane. Thus, holding that no sacramental confession was made by Lorenzo de Medici on his deathbed to Savonarola, he declines to judge his "rights and powers in the case" (p. 29). So again, when the Pope ordered the union of the Florentine and Tuscan with the Roman Congregation of Dominicans, he says "we can offer no excuse for Savonarola's action at this crisis" (p. 83). He allows that he was actually excommunicated in 1496; and of his saying Mass at Christmas 1497, and preaching on Septuagesima Sunday 1498, he "deplores the step as a blunder worse than a crime" (p. 89). So, too, he says "it must be admitted that Alexander showed considerable patience."

We may say a word on one or two points of detail. It seems clear from a later Brief that the second Brief of September 1495 was sent to the Franciscans by a mere clerical error, not, as Fr. O'Neil suggests, to ensure its publication.\* We should be glad of a more effective defence of Savonarola's action or inaction with regard to the five conspirators put to death in August 1496. The eight were urged on and overborne by Francesco Valori, his chief supporter, whom, one may suppose, he could have controlled. In another edition we should like to see preserved the touching letter which Savonarola addressed to Alexander on Oct. 13, 1497, seeking reconciliation.† On p. 185 Fr. O'Neil misses Pastor's point. Pastor says that Leo. X. attached an Indulgence to an oratory adjacent to the two tiny rooms in which Savonarola lived.‡ "It is only in recent times that it has been linked with the person of the great Dominican owing to the monument erected there in his honour. Adjoining to it are his study and dormitory." It is scarcely fair to call this very plain statement an "insinuation." Fr. O'Neil's account is that the Indulgence is attached to visiting the *cell*. The disagreement between him and Pastor is primarily one of fact.

The book is really too slight to give scope for discussing the many-sided interest of Savonarola's life. It evidences, however, the narrowing area of dispute with regard to the facts. On the one hand it seems universally allowed that it is absurd to doubt his entire and unwavering orthodoxy; on the other, that it is impossible altogether to defend

\* See *Tablet*, July 21.

† Quoted from the Irish Rosary in *Tablet* of Sept. 10.

‡ "History of the Popes E.I.V.," pp. 187-8.

his attitude towards the highest ecclesiastical authority. The attempts to make illegitimate the pontificate of Alexander VI., or to discredit the fact of Savonarola's excommunication, break down. No doubt Savonarola persuaded himself, though it is not very clear on exactly *what* grounds, that he might act as he did. But his disobedience is not much mended by blackening Alexander. He could hardly have fared worse, as Fr. O'Neil points out (p. 75), at Rome than he did at Florence. Alexander's "honied words" at the outset must be interpreted by the forbearance of his action down to two months before the end; and the crisis, after all, was precipitated by the Florentines, balked of the Trial by Fire, and disillusioned as to their prophet rather than by the Pope. Savonarola was in the exquisitely difficult position of a good man under the orders of a bad superior. At what point do corrupt and mixed motives make commands which are materially just inoperative? It seems hard to deny that Savonarola's strong civic feeling pushed him into action which may be excused, but can hardly be defended. And at the same time one must remember that, if the Pope confused religion with politics, Savonarola's prophetic utterances were a good deal from the Florentine point of view. The Pope was probably clearer on the divine right of his Italian league against the French, than were the Pisans of the divine right of the Florentines to effect their reconquest, stoutly maintained by Savonarola.

On his social schemes, and organisation of children as a moral police, we do not see that Fr. O'Neil alleges anything to modify Pastor's view that Savonarola's knowledge of the world was not sufficient for him successfully to attempt its reformation. We confess that, mingled with much admiration, we are conscious of a certain exaggeration here, as in politics, which marred the perfection of his work.

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**Our own Will and How to detect it in Our Actions.** By the Rev. J. ALLEN, D.D. With a Preface by the Right Rev. J. D. RICARDS, D.D. Fourth Edition. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1897.

THE title-page of this little book gives us something to think about. The Dominican Convents of King William's Town and East London, to which, so it informs us, the author is chaplain, the Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Vicariate of the Cape Colony who writes the Preface, the Catholic firm Benziger Brothers, New York, Chicago, and Cincinnati, are so many reminders that the Province of

Westminster is only a portion of the English-speaking Catholic world.

The book itself is in many respects a cheering sign of the times. It is, like Bishop Hedley's "Retreats," or Cardinal Newman's "Meditations," a book treating on the spiritual life written by an English author for English readers. A dearth of such books would be both a sign of religious atrophy, and would point to a state of things among us neither natural nor healthy. Dr. Ricards in the Preface shows himself no friend of English translations of foreign devotional literature.

There are books almost innumerable [he writes] on the state of perfection . . . yet there are few comparatively suited for the English-speaking public. The style of those we possess, translated from the languages of Continental Europe, is often too exalted, or it may be too polished and refined, to satisfy the demands of a healthy appetite, and the grain of sound teaching is generally so much involved in sweet phraseology and gilded sentiment . . . that it passes through the mind without salutary fruit.

This seems to us rather severe. The foreign books suit the public for which they are written, and this public is not composed of soft and effeminate pietists. All that need be said is that these books do not, as a rule, suit *us*. An English Catholic who should try to imitate the exterior deportment of his foreign brethren might easily become, what they are not, silly and affected; he runs the same risk if he is too eager to attune his feelings and his sentiments, in all points, to theirs.

But to return to Dr. Allen. He has shown confidence in the mental robustness of those for whom he primarily writes by addressing the heart, not through the emotions, but through the understanding. The fact that his little treatise has reached its fourth edition proves that his confidence has not been misplaced. He shows considerable psychological insight in the way in which he handles his subject. All that we have to say by way of criticism is that his style of writing is sometimes unnecessarily obscure, and occasionally slovenly. The opening chapters seem to us too condensed and allusive to be easily understood by those who are not already familiar with the questions philosophical and theological on which they touch. These defects could easily be remedied in future editions.

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**Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries.** A Revised Popular Edition. By Very Rev. FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, D.D., O.S.B. London: Nimmo. Demy 8vo, cloth, pp. xxx., 495. Price 10s. 6d. net.

THIS new edition of Dr. Gasquet's "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries" is uniform with "The Old English Bible and Other Essays" by the same author. There are several essays in the last-named volume which treat on the monasteries in the days of their prosperity; these make it a suitable companion to the history of their fall. Our readers are hardly likely to wish for a review of a book such as the present, which has been before the public ten years, and is the recognised authority on the subject upon which it treats. It will, however, be worth while to indicate the relation in which the edition before us stands to its predecessors. There is one unwelcome fact for owners of copies of the earlier editions. Many hundreds of the references have become obsolete. The documents in the Record Office, which Dr. Gasquet consulted, have been rearranged, and as no record has apparently been kept of the former arrangement, "the old references no longer sufficed to obtain the documents. This necessitated a complete revision of many hundreds of such references."

There have been other changes besides.

Many alterations have been made in the text, and considerable portions, especially of the first volume, have been omitted which did not now seem requisite for a thorough understanding of this episode in the history of the sixteenth century in England. In some few places slight modifications or corrections which appeared, on consideration and subsequent study, to be called for, have been made, and some additions have been supplied by way of making the story more complete and interesting. Moreover, I have availed myself of the opinions expressed by Mr. James Gairdner in his prefaces to the volumes of the Calendar [of Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.] which have appeared since the publication of this work. His conclusions, which must carry great weight, will be found to be in substantial agreement with the views I had previously expressed as to the main incidents in the drama of the suppression of the English monastic houses.

The concluding words of the paragraph just quoted show that Dr. Gasquet's views have incidentally stood about as rigorous a test as could well be applied to them, in the researches of Mr. Gairdner.

It may be well to give some instances of the portions that have been omitted. They will serve as a caution to librarians and others against being in too great a hurry to rid themselves of their copies of the earlier editions when they are weeding out "duplicates" from their bookshelves.



The sketch given in the introduction of the daily routine in an English monastery has been left out. The opening chapter on "The Dawn of Difficulties" has been considerably, we might almost say relentlessly, curtailed. Thus, several pages devoted to illustrating the disastrous effects of the Black Death on the social and religious life of the country have been cut down to little more than a single paragraph. The whole of the second chapter, "Precedents for the Suppression of Monasteries in England," has disappeared. This, among other things, has entailed the loss of an interesting account of that curious bypath in monastic history, the Alien Priories—i.e., convents or cells attached to some great Norman abbey, and built on its English estates. We do not complain about these and similar omissions. It would be unreasonable to blame Dr. Gasquet because he had not any less valuable material to discard, in order to lessen the size and the cost of this important book. In conclusion, we have only to thank the author and his publishers for making it accessible to a larger circle of readers than it has hitherto been. There are few English-speaking children of the educated classes who are not indirectly indebted to Dr. Gasquet. They may never hear his name mentioned, but, largely thanks to his laborious researches, the compendiums of history put in their hands do not stain their imaginations, as the minds of their parents were stained, with "a horror of monk and monastery."

F. B.

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**Meditations on Christian Dogma.** By REV. JAMES BELLORD, Chaplain to the Forces. With an Introductory Letter from the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. Catholic Truth Society. 1898. Vol. I., xxv., 369. Vol. II., xiv., 363. Price 7s. 6d.

**L**OUIS BAIL of Abbeville, who flourished in the seventeenth century, was a doctor of the Sorbonne, Penitentiary of Paris, and Curé of Montmartre. About 1638 he wrote an extremely beautiful devotional work, to which he gave the title: "*La Théologie Affective, ou St. Thomas en Méditation.*" The work, which passed through several editions, consists of five large volumes of about five hundred pages each.

The Rev. James Bellord, who realised the spiritual treasures locked up in this scarce and expensive work, determined some time ago to open out its veins of gold, and to bring at least the more valuable of its contents within reach of the English-speaking community.

It is not a slavish translation. Indeed, it can scarcely be called a

translation at all, since little more than the framework or skeleton of the "Théologie Affective" is to be found in the book we are reviewing; and the five large tomes are boiled down to two small volumes of less than 400 pages each.

As regards the substance of the original meditations, the author tells us in the preface that "he has allowed himself the widest latitude," and makes no pretence of following Bail closely, although using his material freely as occasion deserved. A certain number of the Meditations are condensations of the original ones; a good many are based on Bail, but completely recast; many more are quite new, or derived from other sources. Almost the whole of Treatise VI. has been adapted from "*La Vierge Marie dans les Evangiles*," by Auguste Nicolas. The Meditations on the Creation of the World are from notes of a work by Dominic McCausland on that subject. Certain ideas of Lacordaire run through many of the Meditations on the Trinity, the Fall, the Incarnation, and the Redemption. One Meditation (the 45th of Treatise V.) is from a review in the *Tablet* of a work by Dr. Stroud, "The Physical Cause of the Death of Christ." In Treatise VIII., the second point in Meditation 5 and the third point of Meditation 17 are derived from passages in Max Nordau's "Degeneration." Certain ideas in the same treatise, and perhaps elsewhere, have been suggested by Benjamin Kidd's "Social Evolution," and one has been taken, almost verbally, from Herbert Spencer.

It will be seen from this that Fr. Bellord has laid many besides L. Bail under contribution. The result of his zeal and industry is eminently satisfactory, and we have no hesitation in recommending these Meditations to all, but especially to the better educated and the more philosophically minded of the clergy and laity.

The Meditations are rich and full, and seem heavily charged with deep and pregnant thought; but the heart is less taxed than the head, and there is not nearly as much scope given to the exercise of the affections as in most works of the kind.

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**Life of St. Juliana Falconieri.** Edited by Rev. Fr. SOULIER.  
London: Burns & Oates. 5s.

THIS biography of the Foundress of the Mantellate or religious of the Third Order of Servites is a valuable addition to English hagiology. The Daughters of St. Juliana have rightly judged that this great Saint, so remarkable for her love for the Holy Eucharist and her devotion to the Queen of Martyrs, deserves to be better

known. Her history has a particular interest for Catholics in England, where, as a protest against unbelief, the most Blessed Sacrament is worshipped with all possible reverence and pomp, and a country whose conversion has been placed under the protection of Our Lady of Compassion. What strikes one most in this beautiful volume is St. Juliana's ardent love for Jesus in His Passion and His Divine Sacrament, her loving devotion to the august Mother of God and her profound humility. We also learn with what zeal and success this lowly virgin worked for the sanctification, not only of her spiritual daughters, but also of the young girls and the ladies of Florence. Her example cannot fail to influence for good the women of a generation not less frivolous, luxurious, and worldly than that in which St. Juliana lived and moved heavenwards. A womanly woman, a sympathetic personality, a practical sensible Christian, the disciple of St. Philip Benizi has every characteristic which should call up the attention, love, and imitation of Catholic womanhood in the nineteenth century.

Fr. Soulier has done justice to his saintly heroine. The chapters on the noble family of the Falconieri, the virtues civic and domestic of Juliana's parents, her own childhood and youth, give us a vivid and fascinating picture of Florentine life in the thirteenth century. In days when every one seems to be bitten with the craze for scraps and smatterings which pass for education, a quotation showing how girls were instructed in the so-called Dark Ages may not be out of place :

Many persons who have been accustomed to look upon that age as one thought in darkness and ignorance, may feel inclined to smile on contrasting what they consider must have been the very scanty learning of Juliana with the brilliant acquirements of a modern going lady. But could the contrast be made in reality, and not only in their imagination, they would find that the superficial brilliancy of modern education would grow dim before the solid learning of woman of the higher ranks in the Middle Ages. To the serious study of the learned languages and various sciences now considered as only fit for men, a well-educated woman of the thirteenth or fourteenth century joined a thorough knowledge of all that could fit her for any sphere of action assigned to her by Providence. She could, and she did, say and understand the divine office in Latin, would read the works of the Fathers of the Church in the original, and could not only superintend, but take an active part in, the cooking and other domestic arrangements. She could work so admirably that modern skill is unable to imitate the productions of her needle, whilst she was so learned in the properties and qualities of plants, and so skilful in surgical art, that the sick and the wounded confided themselves unhesitatingly to her care.

The question as to whether St. Juliana was the first woman who received the habit of the Mantellate is ably discussed and answered in

the affirmative in chapter v. The following chapter contains amongst other matters of interest a list of holy maxims which St. Juliana taught her first disciples. One maxim reveals a practical wisdom that one would hardly expect in quite a young religious. Her tertiaries were recommended "to attend to their families and households with that charity which orders all things well, but not with that servile activity which never leaves the mistress a moment of freedom and keeps up a constant bustle in the house." Did men have to pass through the purgatory of spring cleaning in the Dark Ages?

The wonderful and affecting conversion of Elena and Flora is graphically described in the seventh chapter. Priests will find many inspiring pages for their morning meditations and for congregational sermons or addresses to confraternities in chapters ix. and x., which treat of St. Juliana's devotion to Our Lady of Dolours and to the Blessed Sacrament. A life so virtuous, active, and fruitful could not escape the envy of Satan. It had to be stamped with the hall-mark of Heaven—the Cross. St. Juliana's physical and spiritual sufferings are dwelt on, and then we come to the account of the marvellous reward which Christ in His Sacrament vouchsafed His loving patient spouse in her last moments. Though one may have often read of this extraordinary miracle, the account, as given by Fr. Soulier, has all the thrilling fascination of a new story. The miracles and canonization of our Saint, as well as the progress of her Order and its extension to England, furnish reading always edifying, often deeply interesting, and never dry. Paper, print, illustrations, and binding could not be improved upon. If hagiology has any attraction for present-day Catholics we augur a large sale for this ably written and moderately stated *Life of the Great "Virgin Wonder-worker and Scourge of Demons," St. Juliana Falconieri.*

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**Manuel des Indulgences.** Par le R. P. JOS. HILGERS, S.J.  
Paris: Lethielleux. 3 fr. 50.

**T**HIS book, which is a compendium of Fr. Beringer's classical work, will be found to contain a lucid treatise on Indulgences, and an inexhaustible collection of indulgenced prayers and good works. Fr. Hilgers supplies the pious laity with a handy manual which, developing the elementary notions hinted at in the Catechism, brings out fully the nature of Indulgences, their spiritual, rational, and historical warrant, their effects, different kinds, and general rules.

The information about confraternities, pious associations, scapulars, rosaries, crucifixes, medals, &c., is as interesting as it is trustworthy. Owing to the approbation given by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences to this French translation the reader may place implicit confidence in every official statement contained within the covers of this invaluable book. Special regard has been paid to the tastes, circumstances, and requirements of the clergy, religious orders, and students. The parish-priest who possesses this volume will have at hand a complete guide in regard to all matters concerning privileged altars, sodalities, way of the Cross, and indulgence of devotions. Much anxiety, harassing doubts, and costly correspondence will be avoided.

Take a case in point. A recent decree requires that all girls received into the Archconfraternity of the Children of Mary on or after December 8, 1898, shall wear a newly-struck medal. Directors who desire their sodalists to gain indulgences have been disturbed by this pronouncement of the Sacred Congregation. Have they to get the new medal, and where is it to be obtained, &c., &c., &c.? A glance at Fr. Hilgers' book, p. 372, would dispel their alarm and calm their fears. The learned Jesuit there points out in the clearest language the difference between the *Prima Primaria*, or Congregation of the Blessed Virgin, and the Archconfraternity of the Children of Mary, and a reference to p. 350 would show that if E. de M. sodalities affiliated to the *Prima Primaria* do not share in the privileges of the Archconfraternity of the Children of Mary, neither do they fall under its obligations. They may therefore continue to wear their customary medal. The decree does not affect them. We can specially recommend section 301, paragraph 4, where all difficulties connected with the subject of crucifixes blessed for the hour of death are patiently and fully removed. Carefully prepared analytical and alphabetical indices materially facilitate the study and use of this welcome addition to our historical and ascetical library.

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**Catholic Teaching for Children.** By WINEFRIDE WRAY.  
London: Washbourne.

**I**N a book of moderate size, printed on good paper, with illustrations, Miss Wray serves up a pleasant surprise to Catholic children. A course of Christian doctrine and one of Scripture history—both given in the clearest and simplest language possible—are wrapped up within the covers of this tastily-bound volume. No pains have been spared to make this work attractive to children both in the text and

in the illustrations. The author's grasp of the sublimity of the mysteries of the faith and their energising value upon the intellect and heart of the young is revealed in the patient and interesting way in which she breaks up the bread of God's Word into tiny morsels for little mouths. Many a catechist will pick up some practical hints in the science of religious pedagogics in Miss Wray's admirable summary of what a child should know about its faith and obligations. The kind and judicious words about the treatment of animals are what we should expect to find in a book which has merited the honour of a Preface by the Bishop of Nottingham. The chapters on the Parables, prayer, and the religious Orders are excellent, though I would point out that a division of religious into priests and monks is faulty, that the religious "who live on a high mountain, called Mount St. Bernard [and], train dogs to go out and save people who have lost their way in the snow," are not monks in the strict sense of the word, but canons of St. Augustine.

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**Publications by the Catholic Truth Society,  
69 Southwark Bridge Road, S.E.**

*Catholics and Nonconformists.* (By the BISHOP OF CLIFTON. 1s.)—

In six conversationally-written dialogues, Dr. Brownlow treats of spiritual phenomena experienced by religiously-minded Protestants. What our separated brethren call "Conversion" is the point underlying the whole book. It is a fundamental question intimately linked with the Nonconformist position, and the Bishop of Clifton answers the question in all seriousness and patience and erudition. The first dialogue is introductory, and we make the acquaintance of a Catholic and a Wesleyan Methodist, bearing respectively the apt and significant names, Mr. Peter Southcote and Mr. Paul Winter. In the second, third, and fourth the author examines all the instances of Conversion related in the Acts of the Apostles, in order to see how far the process of Conversion is connected with, or is independent of, the Sacrament. Father Baker comes on the scene with his New Testament, and lively passages, though amicable, take place between him and our Nonconformist friend. These three chapters would furnish any priest with abundant matter for most instructive Sunday evening lectures. The Acts of the Apostles are used too sparingly, even when Catholic congregations are addressed, yet it is hard to see what subject could enthrall their attention like the early days of the Christian Church. The fifth dialogue is on Justification, as set forth by the Council of

Trent and by the Wesleyan Catechism. The last paper, though discursive, is in perfect keeping with the preceding dialogues. Books of instruction specially for Dissenters are not over-abundant, though Dissent is very much with us. This is a welcome contribution to a neglected field in Catholic polemics, and it should go straight to the Nonconformist conscience. The book is a marvel of cheapness, considering type and paper, and, in its neat binding, might be on any table. If, as we trust, a second edition is called for, we hope the popular "convinced" will give way to the correct "constrained" in the Hudibrastic couplet quoted at p. 24.

*A Simple Dictionary for Catholics*, containing the words in common use relating to faith and practice. (Edited by Rev. CHARLES HENRY BOWDEN, of the Oratory. 1d.)—Just the book we wanted. Catholics will do well to keep it by them. It contains the special terms that are so commonly met with in religious books and instructions. The meanings and explanations given are short and simple. A captious critic might pick out holes in some of the seven hundred and odd definitions contained in this pamphlet. To take the word "Canon," for instance. It is defined "a member of a Cathedral or other Collegiate Chapter, formerly living according to a rule." Why "formerly," when Canons are to be found doing so to-day, viz., Canons Regular? These are badly treated under the term "Canons Regular." First, we are not told what they are; secondly, we are informed that "The two Chief Orders of these are—1, of St. Augustine; 2, of the Lateran." A division as correct as if one should say: the Chief Orders of Monks are—1, of St. Benedict; 2, of the Cassinese Observance. The Lateran Canons Regular are only a congregation or branch of the Augustinian Canons. If another Order was wanted, St. Norbert's Order—the Premonstratensians—might have served the author's purpose. "There are also Canonesses of each Order" is a statement equally incorrect. In England we have Canonesses of St. Augustine (Congregation of the Lateran), and Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre (p. 28). Under the words "Notre Dame" and "Pallium" some improvement might be made. There may be some other trifling blemishes, but the Catholic Truth Society has rendered Catholics good service by bringing out this companion to the desk and library.

*Who was the Author of "The Imitation of Christ"?* (By Sir FRANCIS RICHARD CRUISE, D.L. Price 6d.)—This is a beautifully-printed reproduction, in a condensed form, of a work on Thomas à Kempis about which the *Saturday Review* says: "The volume contains a summary of all that is, and probably all that ever will be, known of the subject." It will be hard to read it and not to agree



with the author that the "Imitation" was the work of the Canon Regular, Thomas à Kempis.

*The Catholic Church of England, Her Glories, Trials, and Hope.* (By His Eminence CARDINAL PERRAUD. Price 6d.)—Every one interested in the conversion of this country and in the Confraternity of Our Lady of Compassion should secure these two addresses, which were delivered in London and Canterbury by the eloquent Bishop of Antrim.

*Mixed Marriages.* (By the BISHOP OF LEEDS. 1d.)—A little pamphlet which might be gummed in every girl's prayer-book as she leaves school. It cannot be read without arousing feelings of distrust of these unions, which the Church holds in such profound aversion, and which the common sense of the world recognises to be, as a rule, fatal to true love and perfect sympathy.

*Spanish Legends.* (By the Rev. G. BAMPFIELD, B.A. 1d.)—This collection of Spanish stories forms No. 28 of the Catholic Library of Tales, and falls in no whit short of its predecessors. The tales are well written, and keep the reader's attention riveted unto the end.

*St. Martin.* (By Lady AMABEL KERR. 1d.)—The story of the generous young soldier, the heroic Christian, the Monk and Bishop St. Martin of Tours, can never be told too often. The author has brought out the features and characters of the fourth-century saint with great vividness, and makes us live in the days of Julian the Apostate, Valentinian, and Maximus.

*The Angelus.* (By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.)—The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster has written a prefatory letter for this little pamphlet. The proposal, that of endeavouring to associate the Angelus with the Dedication of England to Our Lady and St. Peter, has the cordial approval and blessing of His Eminence. The history of the Angelus and the devotion in which it was formerly held in England before the Reformation are well set forth by Fr. Bridgett.

*What is Benediction?* (By the Rev. F. M. DE ZULUETA, S.J.)—This pamphlet contains the Benediction Service in Latin and English, with an explanation instructive both to Catholics and Protestants.

*"I go Straight to Christ."* (By the Rev. F. M. DE ZULUETA, S.J.)—In an interesting dialogue between Fr. Haughton and Dan Simpkins this favourite saying of non-Catholics is appraised at its true worth, and found to prove too little or too much.

*Mother Mary Teresa Dubouché, Foundress of the Congregation of Expiatory Adoration.* (By EDITH RENOUF.)—The work of Perpetual Adoration, to which nuns in England have been devoting themselves for so many years, has taken fresh vigour in the Archdiocese of West-

minster, through the settlement of the Sisters of Expiatory Adoration in Chelsea. A word on the foundress of this new congregation comes seasonably, and will help many pilgrims to the House of Expiation better to understand the organisation and work of these "Guards of the Blessed Sacrament," who have come over from France to help to bring the King back to His own again.

*Carpenter Lynes.* Parts I. and II. 1*d.* each. (By the Rev. G. BAMPFIELD).—These "Talks about Our Lady" deserve to be cast far and wide in the land which is her dowry. The whole doctrine of the Veneration of Saints, the position of Our Lady, her influence with her Divine Son is stated in the clearest and most convincing terms, yet in language familiar and occasionally humorous.

*Draper's "Conflict between Religion and Science."* (By the Rev. M. O'RIARDON, Ph.D., D.D., D.C.L. 2*d.*)—Our Catholic young men will do well to get this lecture, delivered to a popular audience in 1897. The text of the lecture is Draper's "History of the Conflict between Religion and Science," a book which still continues to have a large sale as one of the International Science Series. Draper's work is conclusively shown to be made up of half truths, whole truths misapplied, and whole falsehoods—all cleverly put together and directed against the Catholic Church.

*The Reformation at St. Martin's, Leicester.* (By DUDLEY BAXTER, B.A.)—It is pleasant to study history at its sources. But Mr. Baxter's contribution to the "Historical Papers" is sad reading. The contrast between the faith and generosity of Catholics, and the infidelity and rapacity of the Reformers, is proved from original documents. How many churches must have met with the same sad fate as St. Martin's, after having once been the palaces of the King in the Holy Eucharist! The pamphlet must have cost much labour. It is well written.

*Polyglot Dialogues for Workers among Catholic Sailors.*—Here, for one penny, you may learn to converse in French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, with Catholic sailors touching at our ports. Judging by the French specimens, the foreign languages are correctly given.

*The Slatterys.* (By JAMES BRITTEN, K.S.G. 1*d.*)—An unanswerable exposure of these miserable disturbers of the public peace.

*The "Iron Virgin" of Nuremberg.* (By the Rev. H. LUCAS, S.J.)—This pamphlet takes up one of the most striking objects in the repertory of horrors which forms an important part of the stock-in-trade of the Protestant Alliance. An alleged instrument of the Roman Inquisition is shown to have had no connection with that or the

Spanish Inquisition, to have nothing whatever to do with Our Lady, and to have been used as an instrument of justice by Protestants.

*A Prominent Protestant (Mr. John Kensit).* (By JAMES BRITTEN.)—Time was when Kensit was a name to conjure by. That time is past, the name has lost its power; but Mr. Britten's sketch is still worth reading by all who may still be unconvinced by *Truth's* trenchant articles on the famous Paternoster Row publisher.

*Why in Latin?* (By the Rev. G. BAMPFIELD. 1d.)—A useful pamphlet to put into the hands of an honest inquirer on the threshold of the Catholic Church. Like all Fr. Bampfield's publications, it bears the imprint of scholarship, thoroughness, and moderation.

Leaflets useful for distribution: "The History of 'ex-Priest' Ruthven"; "Mr. Kensit's Methods"; "The Jesuit Plot for the Destruction of our Liberties"; "The Iron Virgin"; "The Bishops and the Bible"; "The Rev. Joseph Slattery"; "The Duke of Norfolk on Nuns"; "Sister Mary Elizabeth" (Mrs. Slattery); "An American Editor on 'ex-Priest' Slattery)."

**The Life of Henry Morley, LL.D., Professor of the English Language and Literature at University College, London.**  
By HENRY SHAEN SOLLY. (Arnold.)

AS a young man [said Professor Morley, at the close of his last lecture at University College] I had a literary ambition; I thought that I could make a name among the minor poets of the day. I may be stupid in my estimate of my own powers, but I think so still. Soon, however, I asked myself whether it would not be of more service to my country people, to try to bring others to love the great poets of England, than to be myself one of the small ones. I deliberately and entirely cast aside my small ambition. I resolved—spite of the fact that I did not then see my way before me—to become a teacher of literature.

To show by what means, and through what difficulties, the speaker's resolve was accomplished with a success which is universally acknowledged is the main purpose of his son-in-law and biographer, Mr. Solly, in the present volume.

The son of a London doctor, who was driven by ill-health to a small country practice, Henry Morley was himself—after a chequered experience of school life in England and at a Moravian seminary at Neuwied on the Rhine—trained for the profession of medicine. In 1844, at the age of twenty-two, he bought, with borrowed money, a partnership in a practice at Madeley, in Shropshire. From thence he wrote to his *fiancée*, Miss Sayer, to express satisfaction in his "comfortable fireside," and the hope that his new home would shortly

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be hers also. But the hope was doomed to disappointment. The partnership sale proved a swindle. Penniless, and saddled with debts, but never losing courage, Morley turned his back on Shropshire and a doctor's life. In 1849 he started a school in Manchester; soon afterwards he went to Liscard, near Liverpool, and there, while a pioneer of new experiments in an education which was prosecuted without compulsion, rewards, or punishments, he became a contributor, on sanitary and other subjects, to the *Examiner* and "Household Words," under the editorship respectively of John Forster and Charles Dickens. His biographer records that he sat up late into the night to write, while he worked and played all day with his pupils. Though his letters at this time reveal mental strain, and though he came perilously near serious illness, he had consciously entered on his "true calling"—that of a teacher. "Do you not see," he writes to Miss Sayer, "how noble is the path which lies before me?" In 1851 Henry Morley was offered by Charles Dickens a salary of five guineas a week, to assist in the getting up of "Household Words." In the following year he settled, with his wife—who had loyally waited nine years for their marriage—in lodgings in the Edgware Road, London. Now he entered, and entered triumphantly, on his final and gallant struggle to pay, to the last farthing, the debts contracted during his unlucky experience as a Shropshire doctor. In 1852 Chapman & Hall published his "Palissy the Potter," a book which was favourably received, and has been extensively plagiarised. A few years later Mr. Morley became an evening lecturer at King's College, London; this step took him back to teaching, and made the history of English literature the study of his life. And in 1865 he succeeded Professor Masson as Professor of English Language and Literature at University College, London. In this capacity he remained—delivering an extraordinary number of lectures, both in London and the provinces—till 1889, when he retired from the chair of English and went to live at Carisbrooke. In 1892 he brought out two volumes of his "English Writers." Volume VIII. was published in February, and covers the ground "From Surrey to Spenser." In 1893 the tenth volume—dealing with the "spacious times" of Queen Elizabeth—appeared; and this is the last which Professor Morley lived to complete. The volume, treating of "Shakespeare and his time under James I.," was produced after his death, which occurred in May, 1894; it was ably edited and supplemented by Mr. W. Hall Griffin. The main literary production of Henry Morley's life thus remains a fragment. But the amount of work which he contrived to execute is little short of marvellous. He made standard English

literature cheap, by means of a dozen "libraries" of cheap reprints. The students, on whom, as a lecturer, he expended time, care, and sympathetic interest, are to be counted by scores of thousands. Mr. Solly's book records the life of a born teacher, and of an earnest, whole-hearted worker, whose strongly marked individuality, industry, enthusiasm, devotion to duty, and attractive optimism have proved alike impressive and stimulating to the very many who have, directly or indirectly, come under his influence.

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**Geschichte Roms und der Päpste im Mittelalter. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Cultur und Kunst, nach den Quellen dargestellt. Von HARTMANN GRISAR, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1898.**

THOSE who are familiar with the famous volumes of Gregorovius on the History of Rome in the Middle Ages may be tempted to ask what room there is for another work on the same subject. Fr. Grisar would answer that his subject is not quite the same; or rather, that he proposes to deal with it from a different standpoint. His concern is with *Culturgeschichte*—that is, history as treating not so much of external events as of the internal condition of peoples, their modes of life and thought, their progress in civilisation and culture and art. Even with the best intentions in the world no writer outside the Church can really enter into the spirit of the Papacy and of the Roman people. Moreover, though the greater part of Gregorovius' work will always retain its value, still in some respects it has become obsolete by reason of recent discoveries and the labours of De Rossi, Duchesne, Lanciani, and Mommsen. A history of the Papacy in the Middle Ages, viewed from within and embodying the latest researches, is what Fr. Grisar undertakes to provide. He calculates that the whole work will fill six large volumes. The first volume will embrace the period from the fourth to the seventh century; the second will carry on the story to the time of the Carlovingians; the third, as far as the struggle about investitures. The account of the glories of the Papacy from the pontificate of St. Gregory VII. until the fall of the Hohenstaufen will be given in the fourth volume. A fifth will deal with the fortunes of the city and the Papacy as far as the end of the exile at Avignon. Lastly, a volume will be devoted to the Great Schism and the opening of the Renaissance. At this stage the student will be able to pass on to Dr. Pastor's "History of the Popes"—a work so often and so highly praised in this REVIEW.

Of this great undertaking two instalments have already appeared, dealing with Rome at the time of the extinction of paganism and the early invasions of the barbarians. These portions, small though they are, sufficiently indicate the character of Fr. Grisar's labours. Profound and extensive learning, a clear and interesting style, and a thoroughly impartial spirit are everywhere manifested. As an example of the light thrown upon ancient history by recent discoveries, the reader should refer to p. 40 *seq.*, where an admirable account is given of the excavation of the house of SS. John and Paul. If some criticism may be suggested, I venture to think that Fr. Grisar's history will suffer from a defect common enough in German works. A history should not, of course, be a mere romance or a philosophical treatise; on the other hand, it should not be a mere collection of facts. The student will miss in this history of Rome the wide surveys of the course of events and the brilliant pictures and character-studies to be found in Gibbon. I confess to a feeling of disappointment on comparing the opening chapter of Grisar and the twenty-eighth chapter of the "Decline and Fall (The Final Destruction of Paganism)."

A word of praise must be given to the excellent illustrations which abound in these pages. They are of the greatest service in enabling us to follow the learned author's descriptions.

T. B. S.

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**The Gospel according to St. Matthew.** By Rev. A. J. MAAS, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 4to, pp. xli.-317. 1898.

FR. MAAS is not unknown to English readers. His work on the "Messianic Prophecies" and his "Life of Jesus Christ" have been already for some years in circulation in this country. It is therefore with pleasure that we see he has published another volume.

The work before us is a treatise on the Gospel of St. Matthew, consisting of an introduction dealing with such preliminary questions as the date, authorship, and aim of the Gospel, followed by a full exposition of the meaning of the text. Fr. Maas has no difficulty in showing the worthlessness of the arguments brought forward by a few writers against the early date of St. Matthew's Gospel. The quotations given from the early fathers are conclusive on that point.

Perhaps he is not quite so successful in defending the identity of our first Gospel with the Aramaic original of St. Matthew. The existence of an Aramaic St. Matthew is admitted by a very large number of the best critics. The difficulty arises in the attempt to

define the amount of correspondence there is between the original Aramaic and the existing Greek. That there is a connection few would be disposed to deny. That one first Gospel grew out of, and is largely one with the Aramaic original, is a most reasonable and likely supposition. But that the present Gospel of St. Matthew is a mere translation of the earlier Aramaic Gospel is what it is very hard to prove.

Fr. Maas has added to his commentary a very full discussion of the text. Is it not rather out of place in a work which does not even print the Greek text? In Fr. Knabenbauer's commentary—from which Fr. Maas has entirely taken his textual notes—it is a necessary adjunct. But Fr. Knabenbauer prints, discusses, and comments on the Greek text; whereas Fr. Maas' commentary, after all, is but a popular one.

We have a great admiration for Fr. Knabenbauer's commentaries on the Gospels, therefore we are glad to see that Fr. Maas has practically reproduced them, in a more or less abbreviated form, for English readers. Perhaps it would have been better had he popularised them a little more, and omitted the long list of German writers which, whilst really important in a work like the "*Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ*," can only give a dry character to a more popular work.

J. A. H.

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**The Sacred Heart, or Incidents Showing how those who Honour the Sacred Heart of Jesus are Assisted and Helped by its Power and Love.** Selected from the German of Rev. JOSEPH KELLEY, D.D. London: R. & T. Washbourne; New York: Benziger Bros. Pp. 255.

THIS volume has the merit of presenting the devotion to the Sacred Heart in a concrete and interesting form, by furnishing a short account of the saintly men and women who have done most to propagate it, and by giving a series of incidents which illustrate its fruit amongst souls. The devotion to the Sacred Heart is, after all, the quintessence of Christianity, as it is, in its most intense expression, the loving worship of our Lord in the great mysteries of His Incarnation and Redemption. It was precisely the realisation of the humility of Christ which it embodies that acted like a searching spiritual test upon the minds of the seventeenth century. It ruffled the secret and subtle pride which the Jansenist carried under his veil of dignified piety, roused it into covert or open hostility, and finally



laid bare the heretical animus which his lofty aspirations did so much to conceal.

Jansenism of the Five Propositions is happily dead, but the subtle pride which enters into spiritual life is a permanent factor of our fallen nature, and will remain at all times as the *fomes haereticæ pravitatis*. There can be no better antidote than the humility and meekness of Christ, and the devotion to the Sacred Heart which so admirably expresses it. The volume before us gives a short biography of Blessed Mary Alacoque, and the Ven. Père de la Colombière. This is followed by a number of examples and sayings of the Saints concerning this devotion. The rest of the work is devoted to a series of incidents or edifying tales which show how devotion to the Sacred Heart has at all times proved a fruitful source of help and consolation to the souls who have practised it. We cannot but think that this method of teaching by actual facts and by interesting narration will carry this volume and its lessons of devotion into many hearts, especially of the young, where treatises of a more theological or abstract kind would have failed to do so. As such, it may be strongly commended to the heads of Catholic families. The author notes that to the Benedictine Order, both monks and nuns, belongs the credit of being amongst the first and the most zealous propagators of this truly Christian and Catholic devotion.

J. M.

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**Veneration of the Blessed Virgin, Her Feasts, Prayers, Religious Orders, and Sodalties.** By the Rev. B. POHNER, O.S.B. Adapted by the Rev. RICHARD BRENNAN, LL.D. New York: Benziger Bros. 8vo. Pp. 336.

**T**HIS work of a learned Benedictine will be found to be a useful repertory of Catholic devotion to the Mother of God. The spirit of the Church is well voiced by St. Bernard's axiom, *de Maria nunquam satis*, and the contents of this volume show how the sublimely, the divinely prompted yearning of the Church to echo the message of the Angel and "call her Blessed" has been fulfilled in all nations and generations. The work very properly begins by showing that in all her work of honouring Mary the Church is doing nothing more than following from afar the example which God Himself has given us, and when all generations of the Church have said and done their uttermost, they will have still fallen immeasurably short of the stupendous honour which God Himself has conferred upon her. The doctrinal principles of the devotion familiar to all Catholics are next

very clearly set forth, and this is followed by a short summary of the historical evidence of the devotion during the earlier centuries. Our Lady in the Creeds and Councils, in the Arts, in the Mission field, in the festivals of the Church, forms the subject of subsequent chapters. Her Litanies, Antiphons, Rosary, and other devotional practices are next considered, while her honour in the various religious Orders of men and women and in the numerous confraternities helps us to realise the practical impact which the love of the Mother of God has made upon the life and work of the Catholic Church. The volume is prettily bound, and it only requires that its type should be a shade larger, its headings more distinctive, and its get-up less Germanish to render it outwardly as well as inwardly a popular and attractive work of devotion.

J. M.

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**Studies in Americanism : Father Hecker—Is He a Saint?**

CHARLES MAIGNEU, S.T.D. Paris: Victor Retaux. London: Burns & Oates. 1898. Pp. 423.

THIS is a very interesting work. It is of necessity controversial in its tone and manner. It presents much matter for thought, especially to members of the Catholic Church in America; and the author in the course of the book does much to justify the innuendo contained in his title. It is, perhaps, as well, however, that such questions are not decided in the heat of discussion, but are wisely committed to the long and laborious processes of the Roman Courts, where partisanship, whether on this side or that, has time to exhaust itself before the final decision is arrived at. Perhaps the author takes too seriously some characteristic of the modern American. We must allow something for exuberance of spirits in this youthful country, which is accustomed to look upon everything outside its own frontiers as very much behind the requirements of the present age, and is consequently puzzled to find that the Church of God can thrive on other methods than those which recommend themselves to the American mind. Father Maigneu's book will act as a corrective to such ideas.

F. T. L.

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**Eton in the Olden Days.** Rev. ARTHUR STAPYLTON BARNES, M.A.  
University College, Oxford. London: Robert Browning. Pp.  
26. Price 1s.

THIS is a short account of the foundation of Eton College and the life of the students prior to the Reformation. I am afraid that the boys of the present generation would find that the conditions of life in those days were rather harder than those they are now called upon to endure, though there were many compensating advantages which in the eyes of a Catholic must make ample amends for any shortcomings in the way of comfort. On Sundays and feast days the boys rose at four in order to be in time for Matins, on other days they were excused from Matins, and so rose at five. They were awakened by the "præposter" calling out "Surgite" in a loud voice. They got up at once, and, while dressing, recited the Matins of our Lady. They made their own beds; and then went two and two in a long line to wash, presumably at the pump. Then they said morning prayers. Afterwards lessons began. Practices of devotion alternated pretty regularly with lessons and recreation throughout the day. They retired to rest at eight o'clock. It is interesting to learn that Our Lady of Eton was a place of pilgrimage, and a collegiate church. It was to be served by a Provost, ten fellows, and ten chaplains, all of whom were to be secular priests. Maintenance was, moreover, provided for ten clerks skilled in plain chant, one of whom was organist and might be married, and sixteen choristers under twelve years of age to sing and serve the daily masses. It will be seen that this is a most entertaining and useful little pamphlet, giving a very pleasant glimpse into schoolboy life in Catholic England.

F. T. L.

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**A Manual of Catholic Theology, based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik."** By JOSEPH WILHELM, D.D., and T. B. SCANNELL, B.D. Vol. II. Pp. x. 566; demy 8vo. 15s.

IT is several years since the first volume of the above work was given to the public—six or seven at least, for it was enriched by a preface by Cardinal Manning, and he has been dead since 1892. The first volume dealt with—(1) The Sources of Theological Knowledge; (2) with the Existence and Nature of God; and (3) with Creation and the Supernatural Order.

The present, or second, volume of the work treats of—(1) The Fall; (2) Redemption; (3) Grace; (4) the Church and the Sacra-

ments; and (5) the Last Things; the whole concluding with a useful and fairly complete alphabetical index.

Here is an extract from the chapter on Penance, which may serve as an illustration of the way in which such subjects are handled. After speaking of Penance in general, and then of the nature and institution of the Sacrament, both as regards its matter and form, and of the minister and recipient, and so forth, it goes on to deal with the question of Confession itself. After explaining what is meant by "Confession," it proves its necessity from the infallible words of Holy Scripture:

The necessity of confession is contained in the words of Christ: "Whose sins ye shall forgive," &c. As the Council of Trent observes (sess. xiv. ch. 5), it is manifest that the Apostles and their successors could not exercise the power conferred upon them except after due knowledge of the case, nor could they observe equity in enjoining punishment unless the faithful declare their sins, specifically and individually. The same may be inferred from the words relating to the power of binding and of loosing (Matt. xviii. 18). Two other texts, though not directly enjoining confession to a priest, yet prove the necessity of confession, and have been interpreted to refer to confession in the technical sense: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us; if we confess our sins [God] is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity" (1 John i. 9). "Confess therefore your sins one to another (*ἐξομολογεῖσθε ὁὖν ἀλλήλοις τὰς αμαρτίας*), and pray for one another, that you may be saved" (James i. 16; cf. v. 14). The meaning of this latter passage, as Estius observes (*in loc.*), is: Confess yourselves not only to God, but also to men; that is to say, to those whom you know to be endowed by God with power to forgive sins.

From the authority of Holy Scripture our authors pass to that of the Fathers of the Church, whose words are always acknowledged to be of the greatest weight.

We have already seen that the Fathers taught that Christ conferred upon the Apostles and their successors the power of forgiving sins. They also go on to show that confession is required in order that this power may be exercised. "If we have revealed our sins not only to God, but also to those who are able to heal our wounds and sins, our sins will be blotted out by Him who saith, *Behold, I will blot out thine iniquities as a cloud, and thy sins as a mist*" (Origen, *Hom. xviii. in Lucam*). "If a man become his own accuser, while he accuses himself and confesses, he at the same time ejects the sin and digests the whole cause of the disease. Only, look diligently around to whom thou oughtest to confess thy sins. Prove first the physician to whom thou shouldst set forth the cause of thy sickness, who knows how to be weak with the weak, to weep with the weeping, who knows the art of condoling and sympathising; that so, in fine, thou mayest do and follow whatever he shall have said . . . (Id., *Hom. 2, in Ps. xxxvii.*; see also *Hom. 2 in Levit.* pp. 472-3).

St. Basil, St. Cyril, St. Hilary, St. Chrysostom, and others are quoted in the same way, after which the schoolmen are laid under contribution; and then we are led on to consider the next part of the Sacrament of Penance, namely, Satisfaction.

We have no great love of compendiums and manuals of theology ourselves, at least for ecclesiastics and genuine students of the sacred science: there is always a danger of superficiality and shallow smartness in those who depend upon them for their knowledge of theology.

Still, there are thousands of thoughtful and religiously-minded readers who, without being *ex-professo* students of theology, love to hear the sublime doctrines of the Church set forth in a serious and accurate way, and who will highly appreciate the labour of Fathers Wilhelm and Scannell. Men of a more serious cast of mind will always find pleasure, and, indeed, a certain charm, in following out a sustained course of reasoning, regarding, not fugitive and temporal truths, but truths of eternity and of the supernatural order, and which must impress even the casual reader with a sense of their paramount importance. When we call to mind the many millions of English, or, at least, English-speaking, Catholics in America, Australia, and the colonies, as well as in Great Britain and Ireland, we should imagine that the success of such a book is secured. For this manual not only contains good solid and true doctrine, clearly explained and scientifically treated, and written in sound flowing English, but it is almost alone in the field—almost without a rival. We have, of course, Catechisms and books explanatory of Christian doctrine in abundance, and innumerable spiritual books of which theology forms the basis and foundation. But we are not acquainted with any book in our own language which treats of subjects of such importance and interest in such a technical and scientific manner. We feel sure that it will command, if not a rapid, at least a steady, sale.

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## Reviews in Brief.

**The Monadology and other Philosophical Writings.** By LEIBNIZ. Translated with introduction and notes by ROBERT LATTI, M.A., D.Phil. (Edin.). Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1898, pp. 437.—Every one knows that Leibniz wrote the "Théodicée," and discovered, if not before Newton, at least independently of him, the Differential Calculus. But very few, in this country at least, have any acquaintance with Leibniz as philosopher. A small volume by Mr. Merz, an article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by Professor Sorley, the translation by American scholars of some few of his essays, constitute all that has appeared in English on the philosophy of Leibniz. Yet that philosophy deserves, if not attentive study, at least respectful recognition. We welcome then this volume by Mr. Latta, which contains a translation of some of the more important philosophical treatises of Leibniz, a short but interesting account of the philosopher himself, and a lengthy and valuable appreciation of his philosophical system. With the teaching of Leibniz in his "Monadology" we have very little sympathy. To assert, as Leibniz does, that monads are at once the ultimate constituents of bodies and dissimilar in nature is to assert what is contradictory. Indeed, if we are not mistaken, Leibniz at a later period became aware of this contradiction, and adopted the scholastic theory of matter and form.

**Questions Pratiques de droit et de morale sur le Mariage.** By F. DESTRAYES. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette, 10, pp. 455.—This treatise, which is really a commentary on the impediment of clandestinity, treats of domicile, bans, delegation, the presence of the parish priest and witnesses, and the publication of the decree *Tametsi*. It is obvious that a treatise of this kind is of less use in England than in countries where the Tridentine decree is in force. Nevertheless, even for us, a treatise of this nature has its value, and, of its kind, "Questions Pratiques" seems to be extremely good. The list that is given of the provinces and places affected by the decree *Tametsi* is unusually full.

**Tractatus de Censuris, Casibus Reservatis, Irregularitatibus et Libris Prohibitis ad usum alumnorum Seminarii Archiepiscopalis Mechliniensis.** Editio altera. Mechliniæ: H. DESSAINS, 1898, pp. 239.—This work treats first of censures in general. The

notions common to excommunication, suspension, and interdict, as well as the characteristics which belong to these forms of censure severally are here discussed. It next treats of censures in particular, and here indicates and explains the excommunications, suspensions, and interdicts *latæ sententiæ* which still are in force. The next point discussed is the reservation of sins. To these treatises on censures and reserved cases, a treatise on irregularities is added, and the work concludes with a treatise on prohibited books, which contains an explanation of the recent constitution "*Officiorum*." This work, which is written throughout in the form of question and answer, is concise and clear in style.

**De Censuris latæ sententiæ brevis expositio et explanatio.** Auctore EDUARDO GONELLA. Taurini, Marietta. 1899, pp. 221.—This treatise was reviewed in our columns when it appeared in its first edition. Though neither very full nor very learned, it is a useful little book. We are glad to find that it has so soon reached a second edition.

**Directorium Sacerdotale.** A Guide for Priests in their Public and Private Life. By F. BENEDICT VALUY, S.J., with an appendix for the use of Seminarists. Fifth edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1898, pp. 485.—The "*Directorium Sacerdotale*" contains, roughly speaking, five hundred pages. So far as we can gather, only the first two hundred pages are to be found in Fr. Valuy's "*Directoire du Prêtre*," and these pages, which are full of solid reflections and excellent instructions, constitute by far the most valuable portion of the present volume. The rest of the work, which is chiefly taken up with lists of works suitable for reading, and with hints on etiquette, does not seem to merit high praise.

**De Justitia et Jure Tractatus Compendiosus in usum scholarum præsertim in Britannia.** Auctore THOMA SLATER, c. Soc. Jesu, in Collegio St. Beumaris Theologiæ Moralis Lectore. Londinii: Burns et Oates, 28, Orchard Street.—1898, pp. 96. The natural law never varies; but the applications of the natural law are in many cases as various as the particular laws of countries. This variety in application is particularly true of those principles of the natural law which fall within the treatise "*De Justitia et Jure*." The influence, a perfectly legitimate one, of local laws and customs upon natural law as applied to particular cases is, speaking generally, either entirely overlooked by text-books of Moral Theology, or is, at best, inadequately considered by them. Some text-books, indeed, indicate the influence of French or Roman law, but very few, prominent



amongst these few being the text-books of Konnings, which indicate the modifications introduced by English law. With a view to making good what is wanting in this respect to the text-books, Fr. Slater has written this little excellent treatise. We observe that Fr. Slater charges with theft those that travel by train without a ticket. Whether those that travel by a higher class than their ticket entitles them to are also to be charged with theft he does not expressly say, though he seems to imply that they do.

**The Principles of Protestantism.** By Rev. J. P. LILLEY, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1898, p. 250.—Before undertaking to refute the teaching of the Catholic Church, Mr. Lilley would have done well to make some attempt to discover what that teaching really is. Had he made, however imperfectly, such an attempt he could not have written: "Not only do Romanists add to the Hebrew Canon the unauthorised books of the Apocrypha, but to the New Testament they add the so-called oral traditions, and therewith the Acts and Decrees of the Church, including the Bulls of the Popes, the Decretals, the Acts of the Councils, the Acts of the Saints, and the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers" (p. 129). Mr. Lilley shows himself as ill-informed when he is describing the safeguards of the Divine tradition as when he is enumerating its contents.

**La Notion de Temps d'après les principes de Saint Thomas d'Aquin.** Par Désiré Nys. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1 Rue des Flammands. 1898, pp. 232.—What is time? The question might seem an easy one to answer. Yet who can answer it with full satisfaction? "If you do not ask me what time is," said St. Augustine, "I know what it is. But if you ask me, I find that I do not know." St. Thomas, who fully appreciated the importance of the question, discussed it in various of his opuscula, notably in the opuscula *De Tempore* and *De Instantibus*. What is the theory of St. Thomas on this subject? Can it hold its ground in the face of more recent theories? Such are the questions which our author has set himself to solve in this interesting treatise.

**The Kingdom of Heaven Here and Hereafter.** By RAYNER WINTERBOTHAM, M.A., LL.B., B.Sc. Methuen & Co., 36, Essex Street, W.C., London. 1898, pp. 268.—Many views are expressed in these lectures on the Parables from which we completely dissent. Nevertheless, there is in this volume an elevation of thought and a reverence for the mystical side of religion such as we do not meet with in Protestant writings.

**Theologia Pectoris.** By JAMES MUSCUTT HODGSON, M.A., D.Sc., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1898, pp. 207.—The purpose of this work is to present the true foundations and the essential elements of religious faith, as they appear, at least, to the author. Dr. Hodgson is of opinion that the essential elements of religion and theology claim acceptance by reason of their intrinsic worth, and are to be verified, not by an appeal to authority, but by the satisfaction which they afford to the highest aspirations of human nature. "Dogmatism," thinks our author, "is almost entirely discredited."

**The Conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders.** London: Kegan, Paul & Co. 1898.—The writer of this anonymous volume of verse has chosen lofty themes of historic and religious interest. The first series of poems, entitled "A Song of Israel," comes down from the Exodus, through the most striking scenes of Jewish history to those of the New Testament, treated of in short detached pieces linked by the unity of the subject. One of the most momentous events in secular history, which might inspire a new Iliad if the world should produce a new Homer—the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders—furnishes the argument of the longest poem in the collection, and has a romantic episode introduced in the slight love story interwoven with the narrative. We cannot say that the treatment is adequate to the subjects chosen, and many halting lines would bear revision, but the little volume may appeal to those who like scriptural or historical events familiarised in rhyme.

**The Spouse of Christ, or the Church of the Crucified.** By the Very Rev. JAMES CANON CASEY, P.P. Dublin: James Duffy and Co. 1897.—Canon Casey is already known as a poet whose Muse seeks her inspiration in religious or doctrinal subjects, and the title of the present volume shows its contents to be entirely of a sacred character. The first portion is entitled "Dogmatic," and it is, in fact, an argument of the claims of the Catholic Church based on her possession of the marks by which she may be recognised as such, in contrast with other creeds in which they are conspicuously absent. The second part, defined as historical, finds an evidence of the same truth in the story of the early Church, and of its triumph over a world so inimical to its teaching and so seemingly irresistible in its pagan strength, that only supernatural power could have conquered it. The record of the first centuries of Christianity embodied in the author's fluent verse forms a chain of wonders whose study can never fail to fascinate and enthral, however familiar its outlines to the reader's mind.

**What the Fight was About, and other Stories.** By L. W. REILLY. St. Louis: B. Herder.—This little volume is described on its title page as “a book about real live American boys that was written for other bright boys of the same kind.” If occasionally a little pointless, these stories are Catholic in tone, after their fashion, and yet sufficiently secular to suit the taste of the average lad. Their readers must be prepared to find the phraseology exceedingly American and the grammar of the boys peculiar. “I’ll tell you what let’s do!” may serve as a specimen.

**The Queen’s Serf: Being the Adventures of Ambrose Ginnett in England and Spanish America.** By ELSA D’ESTERRE-KEELING. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1898.—Possibly there may have been an actual precedent for the story that a man was hanged twice, first on a gallows and afterwards in chains upon a gibbet; and yet survived; but it is “a strong situation” for a novel; and many able critics deny that it is good art to make fiction quite so strange as the strangest fact. The period chosen for this book is the early part of the eighteenth century, and the colloquialisms of those times are cleverly given; in short, the words are good, although there are sadly too many of them. There is plenty of life and action in the plot, if the characters that figure in it are not profoundly interesting. Taste in humour varies so much that it is dangerous to dogmatise on that subject: therefore we will content ourselves with giving a specimen of the humour to be found in “The Queen’s Serf,” and leave our readers to judge of it for themselves:

“Little Gogmagogs” is Mr. Roberts’s name for James when it is not “Pickled Rogue.” When it is “Pickled Rogue” Mr. Roberts adds, “Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha!” This is to make the humorous intention clear to the meanest understanding. Solemn talk gives the touch of relief to all this frivolity, sage speculations as to why baa-lambs have short tails, and moo-cows have long, and as to the meaning in the cucking of cuckoos and bumbling of bees.

The author appears to have carefully studied the manners and customs of the period of which she writes.

**Rediviva.** By L. C. INNES. Third Edition. London: Kegan Paul and Co. 1898.—At once a drama and an allegory, “Rediviva” is intended to symbolise the history and fate of India under the British Raj. The lady who wakes after a trance of 300 years is the fanciful embodiment of the revived nation, and the harper, her former lover, who has survived during the same period, of the national aspirations. Misrule, intolerance, and intrigue play their parts in disuniting these shadowy

personifications, while the Lord Protector is himself a suitor for the hand of Rediviva. All ends happily, and "finally (we are told in the Analysis) the revived nationality, in close union with the national aspirations, comes again under the control of the Lord Protector." The following metaphor illustrates the author's style of poetic expression :

Hast seen a cloud with towering head and arms  
 Outstretching into space? Brief while it seems  
 Intent on some great purpose as it sits  
 In majesty composed; and then its form  
 Is sudden rounded off to smooth content,  
 With failing energies. The mark of will  
 Slides from it, leaving but an idle mass—  
 A huddled Memnon on a moving ridge—  
 Decrepit, and no longer worshipful,  
 The wandering Vavasour of wayward winds.

**Girlhood's Handbook of Woman.** Revised and Edited by ELEANOR C. DONNELLY. Freiburg im Breisgau: B. Herder. 1898. This thoughtful little volume, which might well be made a textbook of feminine culture, is a compendium of the views of twelve eminent lady workers in different departments of literature on the many aspects of women's activity in various spheres of thought and knowledge. From the essay on "Catholic Woman in Philanthropy" we take the subjoined passage on those hidden lives in which the unseen has the largest part :

We have seen the black veils of the Sisters of Mercy fluttering, like doves' wings, in our hospitals, as they have hovered like angels of peace and hope all over the world. When all men sleep save the votaries of folly and pleasure, the nun in her cloister still watches. She is rising for matins, she is keeping vigil by some sick bed, she is sustaining some poor soul speeding fast on its way to eternity. Her garb is of the humblest, her food is often what others leave, her work a work that receives no plaudits, and, in this world at least, is never crowned. In many cases, the great majority indeed, her very name is effaced. Her personality is hidden beneath the veil of a most sublimated humility.

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